

A Modern Story: Girl Guides, Feminism And The Cookie Jar

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

AUGUST 9, 1993 \$2.50

# Maclean's

# CHEATERS

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A Growing  
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# No story here, boss

I was not so many months ago that the legendary "Dawn Scenario" were putting out the word of imminent financial collapse of Canada. In that scenario of choice, the dollar would fall, the deficit would soar and the Japanese would pull their investments out of Canada. At that, the "scarcos" and "cons" would have to borrow at park bond rates and the International Monetary Fund would move into the country and take over. It was a curious spectacle—several elected and appointed officials almost gleefully ringing down Canada's oil well. The scaremongering seemed to be an other one of those examples where anonymous doomsayers managed to incite the natural media into doing stories for other purposes—in this case to spread fear and loathing so thick that people would be a more receptive mind for budget cuts. Admittedly, the notion of saturation of concern about Canada's debt was—and is—high and real. But last week came some reassuring statistics, at least as far as the same stories were concerned, in an annual report the Canadian Economy in Tokyo presented that in the fiscal year just ended on March 31—presumably while the Japanese were worried of the still待ing conservatives—Japanese investment in Canada was increasing by \$4 billion, to \$54 billion. Admittedly, the investors may have picked Canada as the lesser of many evils, but pick Canada they did. For now the scare is over—until the next round of sayings.



Quebec demonstration stories that did not happen

Canada's energy news magazine

**Editor-in-Chief** Robert Lepage, Executive Director  
 620 University Ave., Vancouver, British Columbia V6Z 2E6, Canada  
 (604) 685-2000, [www.enr.ca](http://www.enr.ca)  
**Associate Editor** Jennifer McLean, Managing Editor  
 (604) 685-2000, [jmclean@enr.ca](mailto:jmclean@enr.ca)  
**Editorial Assistant** Linda P. Krieger, [lkrieger@enr.ca](mailto:lkrieger@enr.ca)  
**Editorial Intern** Daniel P. Krieger, [dkrieger@enr.ca](mailto:dkrieger@enr.ca)  
**Design** Jennifer Price, [jprice@enr.ca](mailto:jprice@enr.ca)  
**Graphic Design** Jennifer Price, [jprice@enr.ca](mailto:jprice@enr.ca)  
**Photographer** Michael J. Lepage, [mlepage@enr.ca](mailto:mlepage@enr.ca)  
**Production** Barbara L. Krieger, [bkrieger@enr.ca](mailto:bkrieger@enr.ca)  
**Marketing** Barbara L. Krieger, [bkrieger@enr.ca](mailto:bkrieger@enr.ca)  
**Customer Service** Barbara L. Krieger, [bkrieger@enr.ca](mailto:bkrieger@enr.ca)

**Section Editors:** Jim Cherry, Scott Steele  
**Books:** Linda C. Teller, Irving Ward  
**Law:** Peter A. J. St. John, Michael J. St. John, Jennifer  
 (604) 685-2000, [jstjohn@enr.ca](mailto:jstjohn@enr.ca)  
**Real Estate:** Linda S. Biegel, Michael S. Biegel, Jennifer  
 (604) 685-2000, [jbiegel@enr.ca](mailto:jbiegel@enr.ca)  
**Finance:** Jennifer Price, Michael J. Lepage, Jennifer  
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**Energy:** Jennifer Price, Michael J. Lepage, Jennifer  
 (604) 685-2000, [jprice@enr.ca](mailto:jprice@enr.ca)

**Research:** Jennifer Price, Michael J. Lepage, Jennifer  
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**Letters:** Jennifer Price, Michael J. Lepage, Jennifer  
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 (604) 685-2000, [jprice@enr.ca](mailto:jprice@enr.ca)

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# OPENING NOTES

## 'Out of the blue'

I wasn't quite like being discovered at Schubert's Dragstrip, but when Andrew's debut in a Hollywood movie was all over in 10 seconds. Last summer, the Kingston, Ont., painter spent the weeks in the Presidential Day sale of Mac's, producing oil paintings and drawings for *The New Blameless*, a upcoming movie in which Mel Gibson plays a reclusive, tormented painter. Andrew's scenes were chosen to represent the character's work. The artist said that he received a call from Gibson "out of the blue" last July, after Andrew's Toronto friend Malcolm MacRury, who wrote the screenplay, took slides of his work to a story meeting at



Andrew: "He likes to joke around"

Los Angeles. The 35-year-old painter, who emigrated from Britain in 1991, went to Maine to meet Gibson. "He likes to joke around, but he's also a shrewd and genuinely interested in art," he said. Andrew added that he had a confession to make: "I never seen a Mel Gibson movie till then." To prepare for his interview with the Australian star, he rented videos of *Mad Max* and *Mad Max II*, both starring Gibson. Andrew's diplomatic assessment: "There he's very good in 'Mad Max'."

## WORD FOR WORD

### THE LOST GENERATION

**Quinton Le-Gor Henry (Mel) Parkinson is one of Canada's most recognizable broadcasters and a member of one of the country's established families. But in his convocation address to this year's graduating class at the University of Toronto, June 10, 63, made an important statement in an estimation of just for his whole generation. Excerpts:**

"We may rightly criticize the growth in public sector debt, but private corporate debt grows rapidly again. Increasing the \$100B. The tragedy, of course, is that too little of this increased debt resulted in any real increase in productive investment. Where are the new factories, the new jobs or the new technologies in this country? ... It is not easy to plan to discuss what should or should not be done about the unsustainable level of public sector debt.... However, it is equally clear that all that my generation of leadership has had to borrow handily from the future. This is a debt that must be repaid. The burden of this debt will be your burden. It is therefore difficult for me to speak to you today, as a representative of our nation's leadership, not in all confidence or in confidence to you that my generation owes you, the young people of today, an explicit apology. We owe you for having, to a very real extent, mortgaged your future to satisfy our present wants. We owe you for allowing expectations to grow far beyond our power to fulfill them."

## From sea to shining sea

**E**VER since Newfoundland's best-known cheerleaders are finding it hard to stay enthusiastic in the face of the province's gloomy economy, Apple in poet Brian Preford, Newfoundland's whitest former Tory, goes to extremes. Through his Weblog (1979-1980), he has one-time schoolteacher taught long and hard for Newfoundland's interests, battling the federal government on issues such as fisheries and offshore oil resources. But this month, he and his wife, Carol, an amateur boxer—*or at least, brand her north-*

*er*—cross the Presidents are moving to Vancouver. Preford has business interests in a Calgary environmental firm and is a mining company in Toronto, and he still continues occasionally to run to Ontario and Alberta. Although the former premier acknowledged that the business climate in Newfoundland was "deteriorating," he claimed that the move was not a case of abandoning a sinking ship. "I am moving to Vancouver for my wife's business interests," Preford said. And business, after all, is business.

## BEST-SELLERS

### FICITION

1. *The Bridges of Madison County*, Robert Wiler (1)
2. *The Night Manager*, John le Carré (2)
3. *Honor Among Thieves*, Peter Ackroyd (3)
4. *Violent Mind*, Los Angeles (3)
5. *A Suitable Boy*, Vikram Seth (5)
6. *Orfin's Journal*, John le Carré (3)
7. *The House You Come to Own*, Martha Grimes
8. *The Client*, John Grisham (2)
9. *The Ocean Classroom*, W. P. Kinsella (8)
10. *Like Water for Chocolate*, Laura Esquivel (3)

12. *Portrait of an Artist*  
Compiled by Bruce Berman

### NONFICTION

1. *Woman Who Ran with the Wolves*, Cleora French (1)
2. *Agatha Christie, The Last Mystery*, Donald Jepson (2)
3. *Mao Campbell: The Making of a Politician*, Robert Fife (3)
4. *Post-Capitalist Society*, Peter Buxt (3)
5. *Shiftless Guests*, Peter Buxt (3)
6. *Systems of Survival*, Jerry Mander
7. *Recovering the Streets*, Peter Lynch (2)
8. *The Good Business Guide*, Bruce Dean (2)
9. *One Liner: The Big Wig's Way of Life*, Robert Parker (3)
10. *A Woman's Worth*, Marissa Meltzer (3)



## Viva Las Vegas

The gregariously chaffed Canadian Football League's "We're all a U.S.-based team" statement. "C'mon, we just created a franchise in Las Vegas for \$3 million. The new place of the Vegas steel could well add zeroes to the Canadian game. Plus, (a Vegas chief), whose high-profile owners are most options abound, true cancer Nick Mihalkin and his partners at 51 have to do more than applaud the subtleties of Canadian football. To drive a point, A few suggestions:

1. Get a crackly nickname—catchier than "Kings," which is allegedly being kicked

around by team owners. "Gamblers" is too obvious, and "One-Armed Bandits" suggests gamblers. Try "Ravin' Toonin' (Wayne) Brothers."

2. Post betting odds on the scoreboard

3. Hire Vegas show girls and show guys to sell concessions, instead, since audiences in bars will endow audience seats

4. For summer games after midnight to beat the drawn heat. After 11pm, it's the City That Never Sleeps.

5. Make sure that Elton Presley is sighted at least every other game.

6. Instead of the Tampa Bay's world-famous roller coaster, build a volcano erupt after every home-team touchdown.

7. *Reindeer tales*: instead for betting chips at nearby casinos

8. Book the popular Vegas show *Nude on Ice* for the 10thtime show.

9. Incorporate open-necked collars, rhinestone cuff links and garnet gold chains into the uniform designs.

10. Hire Dan Reeks as the offensive line coach.

## Duffers on Bay

FOR successful golf-course builders there's a search for the potential of undeveloped land. Victoria commercial real estate broker John Gordon, 53, has an eye for property as well—the older land. Last fall, with the economic slump that has enveloped Western B.C. in Ray Street office towers, Gordon and partner Al Stoff, 53, created a corner office of Merill Lynch at Chezka's Inc., in Victoria's First Canadian Plaza. Then, they opened the Bay Street Gold Academy, where downtown executives who cannot make time for a round during the week can hit balls from simulated green boxes (100 carts, 100 courses), videotape their swings or take a lesson. The academy's self-titled golf pro, 37-year-old Bruce Bonnery, who used to work at the Emerald Hills country club in Victoria, said it took him a while to adjust to working Monday to Friday in an office tower, but, he added, "I probably the only golf professional in Canada who has weekends off."



Discovery (left) giving lesson golf on the halls of high finance

## POP MOVIES

Top movies in Canada, mated according to box office receipts during the seven days ending on July 20 (in brackets: number of screens/weeks showing):

1. <i>The Firm</i> (13/13) —————	R\$11,000	8. <i>Reindeer Games</i> (10/10) —————	R\$75,200
2. <i>Armageddon</i> (20/20) —————	R\$10,000	9. <i>Movie Palaces</i> (9/10) —————	R\$60,300
3. <i>In the Line of Fire</i> (14/12) —————	R\$8,000	10. <i>Gremlins</i> (10/5) —————	R\$20,700
4. <i>Another Stakeout</i> (7/13) —————	R\$7,000	11. <i>Shaggy in Seattle</i> (7/10) —————	R\$61,100
5. <i>Rocky IV</i> (10/10) —————	R\$70,000	12. <i>Police Justice</i> (4/10) —————	R\$60,300

ENTERTAINMENT WEEKLY INC.

## PASSAGES

**DEB** Jim Scott, 63, Canada's most recent film critic, of *Alto*-related interests. Author of *Leaves*, Neil Scott worked for the *Alto*—*guitar*, *Journal* and the *Montreal Gazette* before becoming the *Montreal Star*. In 1971, he joined the *Toronto Star* and the *Toronto Star*—*Entertainment* section. After leaving the *Star*, he joined the *Toronto Star*—*Books* and *Mail* in 1973. He became National Newsweek reporter for column writer, a *style* and *arts* page. Getting an international reputation, he helped put Canadian *style*—and *film* criticism—on the map. "It was an enormous loss for us all, for our readers," said Gide and Mel's managing editor, John Crutchcock. "Debs have lost a friend but also a guide to confusing, sometimes fascinating, page criticism."

**RICHARDSON** CBC president and chief executive officer Gérard Richardson, effective Nov. 1, is just before his five-year term expires in an era of shrinking budgets. Richardson, 61, and his team board will stand and close or parlay back many local stations, merging them with stations in other provinces and their audiences. He also restructured upper management and the English TV production schedule. This spring, The Star's government informed the CBC that it had to cut further budget reductions—more than \$105 million between 1995 and 1997. In a two-page fax letter to Prime Minister Kim Campbell, Richardson and his team said that he was losing "to prevent other professional interests."

**DEB** Former U.S. army chief of staff Gen. Matthew Ridgway, who at 91 is the sole surviving general, was a one-shoulder star of his battle jacket and a first kick on the other, planned the *Third* invasion of Sicily in 1943, led American forces at the invasion of Normandy in 1944, and later led UN troops in Korea.

**DEB** Reggie Lewis, 27, Boston Celtics basketball star, after collapsing while shooting basketball. The Celtics' captain first collapsed during a playoff game in April, doctors later found that he had a life-threatening heart ailment, but a subsequent medical opinion suggested that it might be a nerve disorder and that he might be able to play again.

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## AN AMERICAN VIEW



For the Yankees are more precious than ever, as *Baseball* is more valuable in the eyes of its shrewd owners and the half-baked players. *Baseball* is, in fact, has been a strange and splendid example of the American soul, a nearly imperceptible cohesion of speed and skill, of art and blunder, of bluster and tact, of

about question, the good old days are there. Is it baseball, gun in baseball cards are easier just for openers? Kills the great ratio. Kids are absolutely satisfied by baseball at the moment. It is another problem. Baseball is very, very good. Sure, I am, yes. All those books about superball, if you're 14 or 15, this is great stuff. Football, people are crazy for high-risk entertainment, young men like it as a status symbol. It has become a great therapy for millions. It is caused by ourselves.

the front office, and in the locker rooms, it is true. Steinbrenner's avowal is legendary though he's hardly the only manager to tolerate trying to squeeze the sputter out of his team. Owners look at baseball with much sentimentality as a kind of exercise in cattle feeding and cross 'em till them with blax lasers, a clutch hit or will-tarned double play? Forget about it. Sure, they are sold in millions but how many are sold, disinterested, when players are projected to decline? Why must we as baseball fans like New York fans aesthetically

now Coleman, who cracked a liberator to start a game in Los Angeles and then was away laughing? Enough with these who have so much trouble doing right the game that have then rich. Enough with the players who have so many more. Texas change personnel so often he can't remember who is the home team and who is the hated opposition. Owners fired a decent man as coach, fire Vincent, and forced to replace. No commissioner of baseball? Underhanded? Ticket prices are ridiculous, and the players, fees are treated not like respected men but unwanted masts.

Now, management leaders of the NBA are desperate to get themselves new stadium like the colony stadium in Baltimore or that grounded the status known reverently as Toronto SkyDome. They have contacted the only drug wring with baseball in its marketing approach. They want to "stage" their "product" as deeply as the original Basketball Association and after all is about, wallet busting, Disney World franchise. Only a game as grand as baseball and solid ball of fun can be like baseball.

FRED BRITTING

*eball is more  
able than the sum  
s shortsighted  
ers and slouchy,  
hearted players.  
eball is us.*

may be too easy to say that George Steinbrenner is what all log League ball, but the idea isn't far wrong. Lastly, Steinbrenner has been there—move to the New York Yankees his ascended home in the Bronx. He is as unmatchable, that Parkinsonian Yankee Student is unsatisfactory at bats that the neighborhood is not up to his standards. It is a good idea, though, to have a *Steinbrenner* manager, who will keep off, where the automobile can range free and far from the salaried car or in pace tranquillity and peace of mind.

Steinbrenner claims of course that folks the outer counties are way about set out in the Bronx, that they suffer a "perception" of danger and are hesitant to live in the stadium neighbourhood as have nations of Yankees fathomed before them blame the good folks for worrying; is this not just like Steinbrenner. People a right to personal safety?

It is race talk, pure and simple. The author wants the students to "memorize" George, who fails from the salutation of Cleveland and resurfaces to that great malling pot, Tampa Bay, may as well be the Bronx envelope any more than distant customers. So any conversation about the location of Yankee Stadium in the South Bronx pulls out the subject of "dissent" designed to really a conversation while people come into a neighborhood of Latino and Black bins. How terribly unusual for George Steinbrenner that the New York Yankees are in New York.

has lectures on sociology and attorney, the city Statistician rarely addresses the obvious. Although the 1980 Yankees are among admiringly, the critics of recent seasons seem more often on the diamond in the streets around the stadium

# CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

## ANGRY FISHERMEN BLOCK A RUSSIAN TRAWLER TO DRAW ATTENTION TO THE PLIGHT OF THEIR INDUSTRY

The confrontation seemed quintessentially Canadian. A crowd of rowdy, raucous protesters had gathered last week in the picture-postcard fishing village of Shetlburne, N.S., even as a flotilla of more than 100 Nova Scotian fishing boats held a 400-ton Russian trawler hostage to protest foreign fishing in Canadian waters. "We're welcome overseas," said a 22-year-old Russian seaman from the *Pavlov Marusya*, which found itself under way as it attempted to unload 12,000 tons of cod at a local fish plant. He and the other 20 Russian crew members stranded casually through the crowd of Canadian fishers, families and supporters who swarmed the shore where the freighter had docked. "We've got nothing against any of them," insisted John Elford, 28, a fisherman who held persistence supporting the Canadian cause. "This is politics." In the end, the protesters had their way: the blockade after Ottawa agreed to order all foreign fishing boats to leave Canadian waters of southeastern Nova Scotia by Aug. 29. Decades-old Del Norte, a spokesman for the Shetlburne protesters, "The bottom line is that Canadians will be first and the foreign concern is our coastal communities."

The stand-off at Shetlburne, 200 km south west of Halifax, was one of several potentially explosive conflicts that last week pitted federal Fisheries Minister Ron Redd, who took over the troubled department from fellow Newfoundland John Crosbie on July 25. In Lunenburg, 90 km southwest of Halifax, fishermen blocked another Russian ship from unloading fish at a giant National Sea Products Ltd. plant—a protest that was called primarily a protest by the 8500 customized fishers that scale back their effort to an intense two days. In Newfoundland, police arrested militant environmentalist Paul Watson after his protest ship kidnapped a Canadian trawler



The *Pavlov Marusya* under siege: a quintessentially Canadian confrontation

as part of an independent campaign to force foreign fishing boats off the Grand Banks. Provincial politicians in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia joined the battle, firing verbal salvos at their federal counterparts as the situation became a test of Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's new government.

The cause of the conflicts was the severe depletion of cod and other species of fish, which has devastated local fisheries and plant workers by in many cases eliminating their sole independent source of income. In July, 1800 Canadian-based Newfoundland and Labrador workers left the job when it was announced a two-year closure of the northern cod fishery. The moratorium is intended to

soothe tensions between the federal government, which until recently refused to set catch-and-discharge evidence that stocks had fallen to alarmingly low levels. Moreover, foreign ships operating within Canada's 200-mile limit actually take few fish from Canadian waters. Fisheries experts now concede that it will take until the end of the century, if not longer, before the moratorium can be lifted.

Last December, the money among fishery workers spiraled to thousands of anthill fisheries in southwestern Nova Scotia. In that month, Ottawa, fearing the depletion of groundfish stocks, set a blockade quota for that year of about 2,000 tons—half the quota for 1992. In Shetlburne, the cuts have been extremely painful. The fishermen complain that at the levels set by Ottawa, they cannot

catch enough fish to make a living. Explained Conrad Chase, 39, a father of four from Shelburne who operates a 30-ton lugger with his brother David, "Once you pay your insurance and expenses there's nothing left over."

But the anger is also directed at foreign fishing boats, which have because a constant presence as Canadian fish quotas steadily declined in trade, domestic fishers have lost some of the Maine for ravaging the Atlantic fishing grounds—even though it was

it was into that confused situation that the *Pavlov Marusya* sailed. The blockade began when word spread by radio about the rusty hulk's unloading activity in Shetlburne with a load of frozen cod. The local fishermen suggested the cod had been taken from Canadian waters—a claim discounted by both the Russian and federal fisheries officials who said that the cod came from the Barents Sea off the coast of Russia. At first, Redd said that he would not talk to the protesters and they ended the blockade. He has threatened to call in the RCMP to break up the protest. Del Norte said, "I can't respond with a gun to my head."

But Redd softened his stance after a number of powerful politicians questioned his tactics. Nova Scotia Premier John Sommerville, for one, said that in legal terms, Redd's opposition was probably correct. But Sommerville added, "I question whether he is really right under these special circumstances."

Red sent his acting deputy minister, Margaretta Thomas, and other Fisheries and Oceans officials to Nova Scotia to meet the Shetlburne protest organizers. After two days of intense closed-door negotiations, they struck a deal. In addition to ordering the removal of foreign vessels off Nova Scotia by Aug. 20, Ottawa agreed to re-open negotiations on increased quota for codfish. Fishermen to help them get through the year. Despite the fisherman's claims of victory, however, federal spokesmen insisted that they had made only modest concessions. For one thing, they said, the Aug. 20 deadline meant very little since most foreign vessels were expected to leave by that time anyway. What the fishermen did achieve, said Ian Liseeau Forman, a senior Ottawa-based Fisheries official, was to issue the public a general "Sent Forman." "They're in a stronger position when it comes to negotiating for next year."

While public attention focused on the events in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, Canada's diplomatic efforts could, in the long run, have an even greater impact on the Atlantic fishery's future. Canada has tabled a draft convention before the United Nations on a set of regulations governing the fishing of stocks that are already overfished or in decline. The UN committee is also considering a Canadian-backed convention that would enable the休禁令 of fishing would bring days of intense anger. But to the fisheries of the Shetlburne all of that activity seems extremely remote. Said William Brighty, 28, who has been working on boats since he was 14: "Sometimes it seems like the people who make their living off the fish know as if in a dream." Last week, at least, that changed.

JOHN BEMONT in Shetlburne

## Canada Notes

### WORKING FOR NO PAY

As part of its drive to reduce Alberta's \$2.5 billion operating deficit, the province's Conservative government announced that it will eliminate the taken \$3 a day paid to voluntary prisoners for such tasks as cleaning toilets and washing laundry. The government claims that the move—which affects about 2500 prisoners who are serving sentences of two years or less—will save the province \$1.5 million annually.

### COUNTING THE FARM VOTE

During a three-day pre-election tour of Saskatchewan and Manitoba, Prime Minister Kim Campbell reassured farmers of eastern farmings that the federal Tories plan to maintain current levels of federal support for farmers. The only change, she added, is that aid may be targeted to the most needy producers.

### FIGHTING WORDS

Quebec City Chief Ted Moses told a Quebec City newspaper in Geneva that, in the event of Quebec separation, the Cree could decide to re-nounce part of Quebec, just the rest of Canada or form their own nation. Pauline Marois, Leader Jacques Parizeau's chosen Mayoral candidate, saying that the idea that a native group and the territory they claim could end up as an independent Quebec is, "for all legal analysis, lunacy."

### TRAGIC RAINS

Winnipeg Mayor Susan Thompson asked the Manitoba government to declare her city a disaster area after southern Manitoba endured the worst flooding in two decades. The flood, which also swept away a 14-year-old Winnipegger, Shalal Hasan, who had been wading in a river swollen creek, he was still missing at week's end.

### NO PROFIT FOR CRIMINALS

Three weeks after Karla Homolka was convicted of manslaughter in the killing of two Ottawa teenagers, Ontario Conservative MP Cameron Jackson introduced a private members' bill that would ban any money paid as a reward for the information of his or her assailant in a violent compensation fund. Ontario Attorney General Marion Boyd expressed interest in the bill and said that she will ask lawyers in her ministry to study its implications. Karla Homolka's estranged husband, Paul Tracy, still faces first-degree murder charges in connection with the teenagers' deaths.

## Reformers on the ropes

### *Preston Manning seeks to reverse his party's fortunes*

Reform Party Leader Preston Manning says up to his basic political strategy in two words—"catching waves." By that, he means that his party depends for its success on groundswells of public interest in areas near and dear to Reform's right-of-centre, populist base. One such burst of popular concern came during last fall's constitutional referendum campaign, in which Manning emerged as a leading light on the successful No side. "The next wave," says Manning hopefully, "is the federal election." But with an election call only weeks away, some Reformers complain that the party seems incapable of staying on a wave. "We have fallen off the stage," says Stephen Harper, of Canadian political analyst Thomas Flanagan, who suggested down and out for the party's director of policy and communications, who continues to be a Reform supporter. "A new party must not only be provocative, it must be attacked and deconstructed." Stephen Harper, a key Reform policy expert who is running for the party in Calgary West, agrees that the party badly needs to rediscover a sense of purpose. "There is a lack of energy and conviction coming out of the party these days."

For Libs, however, that loss of energy is most evident in two disturbing trends. In the past year, the party's paid-up national membership has slipped from a peak of 123,000 in about 100,000. On top of that, the party has seen its standing in a series of public opinion and political surveys steadily decline over the past 18 months. A poll conducted by the Angus Reid Group last month gave Reform the support of eight per cent of declared voters across the country, down from 15 per cent in January, 1992, when the party ran its strongest showing ever. Even more seriously, only 15 per cent of declared voters in the party's heartland of Alberta supports Reform compared with 46 per cent who said that they were prepared to vote for the party in June, 1992. At its current level of support, political Reid says, "Reform would have difficulty electing more than 10 MPs. Given all the brouhaha about Reform as a couple of years ago that would not be a good couple of years."

Of course, Reform's prospects could improve considerably in the course of an election campaign—particularly one in which voters' preferences seem likely to be extremely volatile. And that is exactly what Reform strategists are counting on. "If you look back at the 1989 election, the polls changed dramatically back and forth," says



Following out a Barbados at Barbados. Also - the question what is the profit

Edward MacLennan, a Reform candidate in the Nova Scotia riding of Central Nova and formerly the party's regional co-ordinator for Atlantic Canada. "When voters see what Reform is all about, we're going to get a positive response and these polls are going to turn around."

Still, most Reformers acknowledge that the party faces some daunting challenges, even outside Quebec, where the party will field candidates. Reform remains a largely unknown commodity in many parts of the country. MacKillop, for one, frankly acknowledges that it would take a major

posed for Reform is won over a single seat in Atlantic Canada. That fact leaves him hoping for "the kind of usher shock to the established political order that occurred when a majority of Nova Scotians voted No in last fall's referendum." A similar problem exists in Ontario, where the party expects to field candidates in 96 of the province's 98 federal ridings. Ring Gower, one of the Reform

Party's key organizers in Ontario, says that internal party polls and his own experience going door-to-door indicate that "about 50 per cent of Ontarians will not know what the Reform party is in 'all about.' " As a result, adds Gauvin, a Kitchener-based publisher, "I don't think we'll take a lot of seats at Ontario."

Like many local Refiners across the country, Gosse blames the party's recognition problems as spotty coverage over the June 18 meeting in the national media. The party was the focus of extensive coverage during its initial rapid growth in Western Canada between 1988 and 1991, and in the wake of its decision in April, 1991, to split from

dates in Ontario and Atlantic Canada. But after that, says Goss, "it was like the top was taken off." Missing barge managed to regain the spotlight by appearing as a television commentator during the mid-June Conservative leadership convention in Ottawa. On June 28 a day after Ross Campbell was chosen as Prime Minister, he was back in the nation's capital, along with 125 Reform election candidates. At a rally at the Ottawa Convention Centre, the Reform leader presented his candidates before about 1,000 party faithful. To the consternation of party officials, says Goss, the event went unreported in Canada's major daily newspapers or in television newscasts.

But the problems facing the Reform party clearly run deeper than that. Campbell's survival on June 25 of a new cabinet reduced to 34 from 35 members was just the latest example of the Conservatives co-opting a long-standing Reform policy. Over the past two years, the Tories have adopted the spirit, if not the substance, of several Reform initiatives, including tightening immigration procedures, getting tougher on criminals and setting a schedule for eliminating the annual federal budget deficit.

for, which is running at more than \$30 billion a year. Campbell has said that she will balance the budget in five years, while some claim it can be done in three. Under Campbell's leadership, the Tories' stepping up efforts to court would-be voters supported. Indeed, some Reformers backed what then called "Preston's

she's "unprepared" when Campbell launches MP Barbara McLean—when MacLean will run against Guy Southwest—in her new national seat. **Minister** According to *ers*, Stephen got the job primarily to be choices for re-election. Once in the race, the Tories are expected to money and high-profile campaigns, including Alberta Premier Ralph Klein, who's riding in an attempt to keep up speed in much time as possible for his own test.

the political observers forecast that the Tories' efforts to sweep Reform off the map with the resignation of former minister Brian Mulroney, have failed for Reform's party standing is polls. Real, for one, notes that the 60 Reformers, essentially in West and Central Canada, are disillusioned Tories who have been won over to the cause of separation over the treatment of west by the Mulroney government. "They were pushed into Reform more pushed in," says Real. "But long as they can just as easily be pushed at."

has also been plagued by sightings of Ottawa-based and lobbyist Rick Anderson as a campaigner argued some longtime party members. They see the Quebec-born, Anderson, who has a long record with the federal Liberals, having joined two years ago, as an Ottawa insider of doubtful representation for his constituents. For his part, Anderson told last week that the complaints at his gate are a sign that the socialist

Even Reformers who are openly critical of the party's recent performance hold out hope for a reversal of fortunes. Political scientist Flanagan had urged Manning to take an even tougher line on trimming the deficit and to return to the days when his party reflected what Flanagan sees as Quebec's privileged status. "Manning must find specific areas to focus on that other parties just won't talk about," he says. It is a risky strategy, Flanagan concedes. But at eight per cent in the polls, Reform can probably afford to run some risks.

**BRIAN BRECHMAN** with  
ROBERT KACZMAREK and  
DANIEL KACZMAREK

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British Columbia's aboriginal people will

celebrate their rich traditions and art, in process, combining their creative talents to give the world's oldest sportspole to celebrate the Games.

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# A trail of horror

*A report on violence against women draws fire*

Even the most experienced members of the federal panel studying violence against women listened in shock as the witness told her story. She was asleep when her husband tried to murder her by drowning her in her bath. She screamed shrilly for help. He came back and strangled her off. He strangled her with such vicious intensity that the tip of the knife broke off and remained embedded in her abdomen. At a hearing in another house, he encouraged witnesses to come forward, the panel agreed not to publish their names or places of residence, a native woman recounted terrifying incidents from her childhood. On her way to school in the morning, she would sometimes see splashes of her mother's blood and clumps of her hair lying on the snow outside their home—reminders of drunken arguments between husband and wife only hours earlier.

Last week, after collecting such testimony in 120 communities across Canada, it was no surprise that the 13 members of the panel—feminists, community health workers, gayologists and low Aboriginal representatives—concluded that violence against women had reached crisis proportions. And one of the panel's co-chairs, Patricia Freeman Marshall, executive director of Toronto's Committee on Public Violence Against Women and Children, "Nothing in the decades of anti-violence work that we have completed as panel members could have prepared us for the horrifying amount of violence that is part of our country."

The panel's final report, based on work that cost \$70 million and took two years to produce, reflects that harsh reality. It is also as comprehensive as the panel itself. Established in 1981, a biennial accusations list, *July by July*, is a women's group that as 20-page publications, was a waste of money in a society that reflected the concerns of disabled and immigrant women and contained few concrete recommendations for change. The final report is dramatically different. At 600 pages, it contains recommendations 96 in all—the range from the specific to the general. Examples:

- Adding laws to give up their need for power and control and to pledge not to be violent.
- Revising the Court Challenges Program, a federal project to finance challenges under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which was cancelled in 1992 as part of a budget-cutting exercise.
- Making gender and race sensitivity training mandatory for law students, lawyers and judges.
- Asking women and men not to laugh at sexist jokes.

• Implementing a national child care plan as an idea first proposed by the Conservatives in 1980, but finally cleared in 1992 because of the estimated \$4-billion start-up cost.

• Revising aboriginal women and women of new immigrant communities to give better laws and justice.

The panel seemed undeterred by the fact that the government had not only failed the Court Challenges Program but decided to implement a national child care program. Said Marshall, "I don't believe that there is one recommendation there that is naive or unrealistic."

But some women's groups said that the report's sweeping proposals would likely have little impact. As the panel's news conference wound to a close, Lee Lakerman, a British Columbia representative of the Canadian Association of Second-World Women, stood up to confront Maclean's and her colleagues. Her voice trembling with rage, Lakerman said that many of the recommendations had been made before and had been ignored. "I think this kind of cynical police has to be pointed out immediately," Lakerman said, "or we have no hope of implementing anything that is progressive here." Her words were a painful reminder that Canadian women have grown accustomed not only to harassment and abuse, but also to broken promises.

NANCY WOOD in Ottawa



Marshall shocked by the testimony

who wears khakis?

# CHEATERS

## TAX EVASION COSTS \$30 BILLION —ENOUGH TO COVER THE DEFICIT

**T**he hand-painted signs in Chinese characters on the wall of a Chinatown grocery store in downtown Toronto announced boldly—and illegally—"We have liquor for sale." On July 14, Toronto police raided that store and 14 others nearby, seizing 4,500 bottles of Chinese cooking wine for sale, twelve for sale or \$109 a bottle. The only wine that had been available in shoppers for years but only recently as volumes increased dramatically did investigations for the Liquor Control Board of Ontario (LCBO) catch on to the fact that many of the customers were buying it to drink, not for cooking. The wine, which has an alcohol content as high as 40 per cent, is well known for being sold at less than 10 per cent, and has been imported illegally from China through the port of Vancouver into other east coast provinces. Andrew Bratton says that the raid was the latest step in a year-old crackdown on tax evasion in the liquor industry. "The whole underworld economy is expanding very rapidly," Bratton explains, "and we've decided to do something about it."

Selling cheap Chinese wine may seem like a relatively unimportant tax offence, but it is one example of a rapidly spreading practice that now costs governments as much as \$30 billion a year—almost enough to eliminate the annual federal budget deficit. Those who evade taxes often claim that they are protesting against rising tax levels and what they perceive as a misfated government's spending. But far from being a victimless crime, tax evasion actually hurts all those who benefit from publicly funded programs and, indirectly, all honest taxpayers, whose rising tax rates reflect attempts to cover the shortfall in revenue (page 38). Whether it involves running smuggling operations, being an import broker, illegal cross-border shopping or arranging cash deals to avoid the widely detested Goods and Services Tax (GST), the growth in tax evasion is hurting Canada—despite the cherished self-image of Canada as fundamentally honest and law-abiding—a nation of cheaters.

The evidence is widespread and varied. In some parts of the country, such as Montreal, Canadians

are smoke without as many smuggled cigarettes as they do legal ones (page 24). An estimated one-third of all the jewelry Canadians buy is imported and untaxed. And in the service sector, countless landscapers, housekeepers, home cleaners and others are either evading taxes or losing business to those who are. "When people get away with it once, they are more likely to do again," says Bratton. "It's a slippery slope that may well create a decay in the ethical behavior of some people."

Garth Turner, the 44-year-old Ontario Comerative who took over the family-run Canadian tire revenue manager, agrees that the problem is getting out of hand. "It's one of the things we occasionally run across—customers who don't understand what they're doing," says Turner, in a blindingly articulate interview. Last June (page 29), the tire man's like every Tom, Dick and Harry who rolls up your driveway to build a new bathroom or paint you two prices. Turner adds he is determined to crack down on tax evaders. "Over the next few weeks I'm going to offer people a rare opportunity to come forward and comply. After that, look out. The point is that when people cheat, those pressures just end up creating higher taxes—and that's the last thing thing we need."

The current wave of tax evasion appears to have much in the introduction of the GST in 1991 and the prolonged economic slump. By levying a tax on services, the government in effect created a financial incentive for customers to pay cash under the table for such things as car repairs and home improvements. And when that happens, the government usually loses twice—because much of the income on that money, as well as the GST, goes unpaid.

One clue to the extent of the problem is a recent increase in the use of cash. After declining steadily for a decade, the amount of cash in circulation increased to 62 per cent of total consumer spending by the start of 1992, up from 57 per cent a year earlier. Drawing on that data, economist Peter Spiro published a study in June last

The amount of cash in use has increased in a thriving economy underground

postulating that the GST had provoked a shift to underground economic activity that cost all levels of government a total of \$2.3 billion in 1992. Spiro, the manager of macroeconomic analysis and policy for Ontario's treasury ministry, argues that new taxes must be perceived as fair or they will not be respected. "Clearly the cost was perceived in advance as being unfair," he adds.

Most cheating on the GST occurs in labor-intensive basic services. Because they have few expenses on which they have to pay GST and, as a result, less chance to collect government refunds, they have less incentive to report the work they perform. Laverne Brubacher, a house cleaner in the southwestern Ontario town of St. Jacobs, says that each week several potential customers ask her to do jobs tax-free. "It's a form of tax revolt," said Brubacher

Naturally, those who do cheat tend to show subtlety. A 65-year-old Vancouver contractor, speaking on condition of anonymity and that he is often offed, and occasionally accepts cash from customers who wish to avoid paying the GST. He described himself as fundamentally honest, but added: "I'll do it if that way. I wouldn't be working if I said that not all such customers are motivated solely by a desire to save money. "I do a cash job for a well-off older couple in Richmond. They had the money, but they were really angry about the tax." But he added that the degree of cheating by individuals is less than that by business. A cleaner he used, based his tax to \$80,000 worth of work on her house and \$30,000 on her other—and billed the entire amount as an office expense.

Garth Kinkwater, a home relocator in St. John's, Nfld.,



says that his business is suffering because of the number of unemployed fishermen and oil-field construction workers earning cash by doing renovations. "It's easy for small operators to hide in the resources business," he says. "It's pretty discouraging for the rest of us. Maybe we'll be better off than the developers." In fact, that's exactly what the Canadian Home Builders' Association reported: the 55 per cent of all renovations at Canada's 3,692 home sites on the block market—estimated with an estimated 20 per cent profit. "Every company that charges the GST often does not tell the customer that the price includes it," the association's report notes. "This is in order to offset customer resistance to paying the GST."

In Coquitlam, B.C., homebuilder John Madson has detected an increase in tax evasion. In 1990, Madson founded MasterCard, the first of Canada's five major master artworks. To comply with Revenue Canada rules, the organization declared that anywhere where rendered goods or services for performing work was there, professional fees had to deduce the value of those transactions as fair-income-tax returns. But shortly after the introduction of the GST, the number of deals struck through the Better Card and work begins to decline. According to Madson, membership is now less than 500, compared with a high of 1,200 in 1982. "Some of our former members are continuing to humor in Canada but are receiving payment through the United States," Madson says. "They do it to avoid the GST. And, of course, if you don't pay the GST, you'd have to be debited to include the value of the transaction on your income-tax return." A chartered accountant, Madson asserts that "just being taxed has become a way of life for Canadians."

Beyond avoiding the GST, consumers are increasingly finding ways to evade taxes on such heavily taxed goods as cigarettes, liquor and jewelry. Tax levels in excess of 60 per cent on cigarettes have convinced many smokers that they are justified in breaking the law. Andrew Townsend, an unemployed 28-year-old who was studying dentistry in Ottawa, says that he buys black market cigarettes whenever possible, usually for about half the \$5 to \$7 a package that he would otherwise pay. "Staged laws are racing to be broken," Townsend said. "Government think they have us over a barrel. So, for everyone else, I have no guilt whatsoever about breaking the law."

The U.S.'s Brooks says that in one internal check, liquor-board employees found that roughly two-fifths of the liquor bottles located in garbage containers behind bars and restaurants in downtown Toronto had been smuggled in from the United States. Last April, customs officers at a border checkpoint in Windsor, Ont., stopped a truck that appeared to be carrying a load of cocaine. On further investigation, they discovered that the truck was almost half full of smuggled liquor that was eventually traced back to a warehouse in suburban Detroit. In addition to 12,000 bottles of liquor in the warehouse, Brooks says, investigators found sophisticated smuggling equipment able to repackage Canadian cigarette packages, software right down to a small test sample. "That's just a little backyard bootlegging," he says. "That's a separate concern."

The evasion of any and all rules is the money business. The above-board jewelry industry, which pays a hidden 10-per-cent excise tax to addi-

tion to federal and provincial sales taxes, reported sales of \$1.8 billion in 1990. But according to a study for the federal finance department, underground jewelry sales and an additional \$845 million in \$1.4 billion. Offshoring ranges from travellers who fail to declare purchases outside the country to consumers who make investments and other personal savings in Canada for the purpose of tax avoidance.

For the tax collector, the task can seem overwhelming. The reason is the kind

of thing that is virtually impossible to prevent. "We do the price we pay for letting bad ones. People do a great job on morale."

Player Smith, an economist at the University of Alberta in Edmonton, has tried for more than a decade to measure the size of Canada's underground economy. Relying on a variety of indicators, he estimates that it accounted for 35 to 30 per cent of economic activity in 1990, up from about 30 per cent a decade earlier. It has almost certainly grown even larger since then, he adds in addition to the GST and the recession, Smith says, but evasion has become more popular because of the growth of the number of self-employed people and because of the increase in immigration from countries where tax evasion is even more widespread.

Still, Smith points out that the underground economy is far less of a problem in Canada than in several other industrialized countries. In 1988, Italy officially recognized underground activity by declaring that its economy was 20 per cent larger than recorded; others put the figure closer to 30 per cent. And Belgium, some experts say, has an underground economy equal to about 30 per cent of its gross domestic product (GDP). At the other end of the scale are Japan and Switzerland, each of which is estimated to have an underground economy equal to less than four per cent of GDP.

Ottawa asserts that Canadians are at least as honest in their Japanese or Swiss counterparts. By using a system that compares three different measures of the economy, Statistics Canada estimates that underground activity amounts to a mere 3.3 per cent of GDP. Said Paul Scott, the agency's director of national accounts: "If the underground economy were as large as 10 per cent of GDP, or about \$30 billion, it would only be on a margin a few cents of the national income."

Turner is not alone in wanting tougher enforcement. Said Neil Brooks, a tax law professor at York University's Osgoode Hall Law School in Toronto: "This evasion is an offence that we don't stand many people to jail for in Canada. At most we lock up one or two of your species about \$10,000 a year under the table. Maybe for not of touch, but just doesn't stick, and my everyday experience."

But others, such as tax lawyers, are less than convinced. "They are trying to hide an elephant behind a small curtain," a Toronto lawyer scoffed and an audience of taxpayers. "They want to minimize it because it means that they are successful in going with their own policies." Government officials also worry that acknowledging the degree of evasion will add to the problem. Says Ontario's Spira: "I wouldn't like to tell off this audience because the data show that the more people become aware that other people cheat, the more they cheat."



paper columnist, Turner at times provided step-by-step instruction in financial transactions that would enable readers to avoid taxes.

Although Turner declined to discuss the details of his department's plan, Revenue Canada officials say privately that coming changes will include a reworking of the tax registration and audit systems, as well as an advertising campaign to educate Canadians about the consequences of tax evasion for the country. In addition, Revenue Canada plans to step up enforcement and introduce tougher penalties for those who are caught. "It's a thorny issue," Turner said. "Most people are going to think that a more proportionate amount of the tax is fair and hence be very careful if you are part of the entrepreneurial economy."

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opportunity almost anyone will cheat," Brooks says, because most Canadians do not consider tax evasion a serious crime. Asked whether it is worse to collect \$10,000 in unemployment insurance benefits while working part-time or to evade \$10,000 in income taxes, more respondents considered the unemployment insurance more serious, says Brooks. "The lesson is that the government ought to reflect the seriousness as much as possible, and then punish the offenders more."

"Taxes," renowned U.S. poet Oliver Wendell Holmes observed at the turn of the century, "are what we pay for a civilized society." That may be true, but in Canada's day the tax burden was far less than it is now. Perhaps, for many Canadians, the price of civilization has gone too steep.

**BRENDA DALGLISH** with **PATRICK GAYNOL** in Toronto, **LUKE FARNHAM** in Ottawa and **ADMIRALNE RODD** in Vancouver

## The art of 'avosion'

In his 1990 annual report, then-federal Auditor General Kenneth Drye went out of his way to publicize and condemn a loophole in the law that enabled some Canadian corporations to avoid paying millions of dollars in corporate income tax. The technique, known as the double dip, allows domestic companies to finance their U.S. operations through shell companies in the Netherlands and the Netherlands Antilles, where unique tax laws exist, and then deduct the interest costs twice. "The loophole creates opportunities, however, because federal officials have found a way to close it without creating more problems in the tax laws. Double dipping is technically legal and therefore considered tax avoidance, rather than evasion. But it clearly goes against the spirit of tax laws." By "called 'avosion,'" said David Perry, senior research associate at the Canadian Tax Foundation in Toronto. "It falls in the grey area in the law between avoidance and evasion."

The existence of corporate tax loopholes—as well as such tax havens as the Cayman Islands and Switzerland, where bank secrecy laws allow the wealthy to shelter their money from taxes—helps to explain why so many Canadians end up liable in cheating on their taxes. In fact, the only Canadians who are as firmly caught in the tax collector's net as they have relatively few opportunities to

cheat on their income taxes are those who are employed by others and, consequently, have their taxes deducted at source. That, of course, includes the majority of Canadians, which may account for the fact that many people experience little sense of guilt about smuggling cigarettes or paying a bribe in cash to avoid the GST. Debrah D'Cunha, a director of the Ottawa-based National Anti-Poverty Organization, says that 150,000 households across the country pay no income tax to 1987, even though they reported a total of \$20 billion in profits. "We imagine that's just, but, she says, she finds it hard to put any individual who cheat on their taxes." Unfortunately, she adds, "most of the tax evasion that goes on in this country is perfectly legal."

Unfortunately for most citizens, shifting down the opportunity for tax evasion by big corporations and the rich can be even more difficult than evading cost evasion. If tax rates rise too much, tax regulations become too onerous, big corporations and wealthy individuals will simply leave. "When capital and people become highly mobile," says Perry, "taxes become much harder to collect." He adds that estate taxes would raise little revenue because the wealthy would rearrange their affairs, or leave the country before they die. The real winners, Perry jokes, would be the airlines.

**BRENDA DALGLISH**

**Revenue Canada's computer crime in Ottawa: crackdown**

people a year." Revenue Canada has even stepped regularly public along the names of convicted offenders. Brooks says that the department now adds a mere 17 per cent of corporate tax returns yearly down from seven per cent a few years ago—even though the department says it collects \$20 for every \$1 spent on auditing.

On the other hand, one of the few public moves ever done about why Canadians cheat on their taxes was that, many people have more sympathy for tax evasion than they do for government. Brooks, along with University of Toronto criminologist Anthony Doob, organized the telephone survey in 1986. Fourteen per cent of the approximately 1,500 interviewed admitted to cheating on their taxes, leading Brooks and Doob to conclude that the annual rate of cheating was probably much higher. "It appears that, given the opportunity almost anyone will cheat," Brooks says, because most Canadians do not consider tax evasion a serious crime. Asked whether it is worse to collect \$10,000 in unemployment insurance benefits while working part-time or to evade \$10,000 in income taxes, more respondents considered the unemployment insurance more serious, says Brooks. "The lesson is that the government ought to reflect the seriousness as much as possible, and then punish the offenders more."

"Taxes," renowned U.S. poet Oliver Wendell Holmes observed at the turn of the century, "are what we pay for a civilized society." That may be true, but in Canada's day the tax burden was far less than it is now. Perhaps, for many Canadians, the price of civilization has gone too steep.

# THE OUTSIDER

## CANADA'S NEW CHIEF TAXMAN GETS A TASTE OF POWER

BY ROBERT L. STONE

If you could cross Howard Beale, the New York anchorman in the movie *Network* who was "mad as hell and not going to take it anymore," with James H. Dickey, the oblique minister in the British comedy series *Yes, Minister* who developed a well-founded suspicion of the civil service, you would have some idea of what drives Canada's new chief taxman. Add a few more helping of Ross Perot, the ego-charged American billionaire who launched a one-man crusade on behalf of the American middle class and you would pretty well have it down in a T.

In Canadian terms, however, Revenue Minister Garth Turner is probably unique. Until the recent Conservative leadership race, in which he finished fourth in a field of five, Turner was little more than an object of curiosity as the Tory backbencher, a 48-year-old maverick who quit as *Age* Read and blew off strike by playing rock 'n' roll on his black Fender Stratocaster guitar. Even he imagined all the possibility that he might one day be invited to join Ottawa's inner circle. "People spend half their lives seeking life and position," the right-on-the-center populist said in May, a few months before his long shot leadership bid was crushed by Kim Campbell's juggernaut. "If being an MP isn't good enough, where does that leave the voters?"

A few questions, but since June 24 the Turner tabloid newspaper columnists have had the no-mans on his plate to give it much thought. That was the day Campbell outed Ray Culpard as replacement "Turner" and told him to be at 28 Sussex Drive, the Prime Minister's official residence, at 8 p.m. "I launched at the front door, went in and they waded a while, surrounded by all the other ministers," recalls Turner, one of the very few Tory MPs who had the temerity to voice concern about Mike MacLean's proposed \$150,000 sale of *Financial Times* to the federal government. "Then I was shown upstairs to a room overlooking the Ottawa River to tell the Prime Minister." By then, Turner was certain that he was destined for the cabinet, but he was expecting a minor portfolio—something like consumer protection or science. "He was a bit taken aback, he says, when Culpard gave him a welcome, a department with 40,000 employees, 800 offices and a \$25 billion annual budget.

That night, Turner returned to his brick semi-detached house in New Edinburgh, an episode-Ottawa neighborhood only a stone's throw from the Prime Minister's residence, to break the news to his wife of 22 years, Dorothy. "They have no children?" "I said a while to talk in," he says. "It was very, very late to know that I



Turner arriving for a cabinet meeting. "We began at 8 p.m. raising the agenda."

would finally be at the table—to make decisions that will actually affect people, that were the other reactors are. "You're going to have to give up freedom of speech? It's like walking through a door into a world I've never experienced."

Now that he is there, Turner says that he wants to stand square between what he has always espoused—an Ottawa minister who thinks his life revolves around Parliament Hill. "I spent two weeks with my wife in the breeding books and then got the hell out of Ottawa. I don't want to talk to the bureaucrats. I want to talk to the people in the ground—the border guards, the guy taking the phone calls from John Q. Public, plus most importantly, taxpayers."

Turner's instinctive wariness of the institutions who would power him and the scenes in Ottawa was reinforced by an experience soon after his swearing in. During his first week as minister, he learned that the department was considering replacing its 35-year-old regional head quarters in Toronto. Turner says that he gave specific instructions to the legal department to keep informed of any developments. That weekend, he was reading through "about 1,000 pages of briefing material" when he came across a single page informing him that a new conference was scheduled for the following Monday to announce plans for a \$25-million office tower. Turner immediately called his deputy minister and advised him to cancel the meeting. "I don't know much about how the game is played, so maybe it's normal to try to get things past the new minister," he says.

Turner toured the building last week and told staff that if they want a new building, they will have to argue their budgeters for it as a worthwhile expense. "The taxpayers are running the agenda," he says, adding, "Look at what happened in the Senate's \$6,000 expense allowance and the [Molson] family [house] deal. People demanded justice and the system worked."

Turner's hard, anti-establishment-style critics say that a border on demagoguery—a suspicion that there will be many more battles ahead. Born in Waddington, Ont., he went to high school in Toronto and was more conservative, he says, in viewing Beale's boisterous and strong style. After a brief spell in the late 1960s as a folk-rock enigma in Yorkville, the centre of Toronto's hippie culture, he founded the first of six weekly newspapers across southern Ontario. He sold that busi-

ness in 1978 and spent the next decade as business editor of *The Toronto Star*, a job in which he rallied others to work for lower public spending and organized protest against the Peter Lougheed tax cuts.

Although the high-profile battles he joined a dozen years helped to win him a seat in Parliament, his switchback to politics has not been smooth. As a colonialist, Turner stood foursquare against the Goods and Services Tax (GST), calling the idea "foolish" and "dangerous." He remained as stand-offish because not an MP—a third of whom were his constituents refuse to forgive him. At a recent appearance in his riding with Campbell, a pair of hecklers shouted, "Hey—Turner, Turner!" Turner later blamed the interaction on "a couple of yahoos," but disengagement has stood as clearly widespread. "As far as I've concerned, the GST is a killer," the owner of a local eatery's next door told *Maclean's*. "You think I'd vote Tory again? God, to."

In more other respects, Turner's populist style appears to mesh with the times. He advocates a less generous parliamentary pension plan, travel without sides and actually drives instead of flying between Ottawa and his primary residence in Georgetown, Ont., just west of Toronto. He even has a personal 1,800 number so that Canadians can leave a message for him whenever they wish, the cost runs about \$300 a month, which Turner says he pays himself. A government that is trying to project an image of frugality would be hard-pressed to do any better.

The real question is whether Turner can adapt to being a cabinet player. Already, he is embroiled in a cabinet debate over a proposal to renew the GST from books and periodicals. Yet his peers such as Deputy Prime Minister Kim Campbell and External Affairs Minister Pamela Wallin are pushing the idea as a way of demonstrating support for Canadian culture, but Turner views it as a venal waste. "Exempting magazines and books is going to cost \$120 million," he says. "If we're going to spend that kind of money, maybe we can cut a dollar or two." He adds, however, that renewing the exemption now would only reinforce the complacency of the two—which is the last thing business needs.

Will Turner, the outspoken newcomer, was right, or will he be forced to compromise in the interests of electoral advantage? The amateur himself declines to predict the outcome. "I believe that the government needs to be supported for its broad objectives," he says, but things happen sometimes which are pretty disastrous and hard to support. "I just hope people won't take everything I say as government policy, or else I'll be in deep trouble very quickly." As Turner knows full well, that seat at the cabinet table comes at a price.

ROBERT LYTHER © *Maclean's*

## The world according to Garth

Before his controversial politics, Revenue Minister Garth Turner was a newspaper columnist who complained about the tax system and frequently hinted about his political ambitions. Since his election in 1988, however, Turner has mellowed. Examples:

### ON THE GST:

"It's a dangerous and backward step. It hurts the risk-takers, kills incentives, raises taxes and threatens the economy."

—July, 1987

"There's an inherent equity in the concept of a consumption tax."

—March, 1990

### ON TAX AVOIDANCE:

"No longer can any Ontario-Canadian do without an American bank account...Interest earned on deposits in American banks is not reported to Revenue Canada. Now, even the taxman can add it in, and increase, this information—but they first have to know that a Canadian taxpayer has an U.S. account, what bank it is with, what branch it is in, and in what form. The odds of this happening are obviously tiny."

—October, 1984

"It's not fair that there are people who think they can get away with not paying their taxes."

—July, 1990

### ON THE ECONOMY:

"The country is bankrupt, our American brother is in decline and despite desperate attempts to compete, the wealth base of the globe is shifting daily to Japan...It's not just a question of whether the economy will succeed—it's just when."

—April, 1988

"Some Canadians have a serious attitude problem...life in Canada is so awful, then why do we keep being ranked among the top three or four countries in most fields, by international groups?"

—January, 1993

# OF SMOKES AND SMUGGLERS

PHOTOGRAPH BY GUY LAWRENCE

## GUNS AND MONEY FUEL AN ILLICIT TRADE

**W**hen the 23-year-old Mabane left the U.S. attorney general's office in 1991, the new job had the unenviable appeal of "anywhere but Ottawa," says Mabane. To earn \$60,000 all he had to do was drive his car to a stop at St. Lawrence Boulevard in eastern Ontario where cigarette smugglers and police refer to as the "four way." There, across the river from Almonte, a Melville reserve straddling the U.S. border, smugglers would pack his car with hundreds of cartons of illegally imported cigarettes that were then sent for sale on Mabane's black market. The former soldier now makes the trip once a day, and claims an income of \$33,000 a week. But he is just a bit player in a vast \$1-billion tobacco-smuggling operation that is being fueled by high cigarette taxes in Canada. In fact, of the 7.6 billion cigarettes exported to the United States in 1992, police say, 80 per cent were smuggled back into Canada. While the federal government plans to step up its fight against the smugglers, the former soldier says that he will continue to take the job. "What can they do? They say, 'Everybody's getting paid.'"



Contraband cigarettes: 'a golden commodity'

And that year, more than one in nine cigarettes sold in Canada in 1992 was smuggled. Michael Denoncour, director of public affairs for Montreal-based Imperial Tobacco Ltd. and one nearly 80 per cent of all cigarettes consumed in Montreal are smuggled. By June 18, the federal government increased the penalties for cigarette smuggling. Under the changes smugglers can be fined two to three times the value of the cigarettes in their possession, and sentenced to a maximum of five years in jail. According to Revenue Minister Gerth Turner, cigarette smuggling has reached the point where it may undermine Canadian society. Said

Turner: "People will start believing that it is cool to pay off the government."

As profits increase, police and smugglers say that trafficking in illegal tobacco is becoming more diversified—and organized crime is becoming an increasingly important force in the industry, according to Philippe Bégin, a former senior director of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service. Chinese and Vietnamese groups regularly make the four-hour drive from Toronto to Almonte, where they buy thousands of cigarettes for distribution in the Ontario capital. Police set up roadblocks to trap the smugglers, but say that at best they catch only a small portion of the illegal trail. At night, they add, automatic weapons fire can be heard near Almonte as rival smugglers exchange shots. The results of the conflict often wash ashore. Said Ontario Provincial Police Sgt. Jim McWade, of the nearby Limerock detachment: "We have found large boats that had been stolen and painted black, some with graffiti on them."

Most cigarettes produced by Canadian manufacturers are exports—each package carries a small label saying that it is not for sale in Canada—cross the border at Buffalo, N.Y., where they are sold to distributors. Many of the smokers are truck drivers not along the U.S. side of Lake Ontario in Almonte, where they are warehoused before being smuggled by boats into Canada. While Almonte is a major departure point, RCMP officials say that cigarettes are being smuggled across mountain border peaks right across the country. An informal distribution network involving couriers then

re-sells the cigarettes to corner stores in major cities, in bars from dutch shops or even in delis in suburban Canada. The practice is so widespread that it has even driven down the price of cigarettes in major chain stores that do not sell smuggled cigarettes.

But nowhere in the problem more acute than at Almonte, home to some 10,000 Mohawks. Because it straddles the border and is situated a short distance from Highway 408 between Montreal and Toronto, it is an ideal haven for smuggling. The reserve is now dotted with cigarette warehouses, from which trucks, vans and cars come and go at a steady stream. Even under the glare of the moon and last week, dozens of vehicles, piled high with boxes of contraband cigarettes, were crisscrossing the

river. Darra Bonaparte, a spokeswoman for the Almonte band government, said that the illegal cigarette industry has become so extensive that it is hurting the reserve's economy. "There are a lot of houses going up and nothing being built," said Bonaparte. "Sometimes, it seems as if everybody is into cigarette smuggling."

The smugglers of Almonte do not have far to go to obtain their contraband cigarettes. The isolated portion of Almonte lies just 1,200 feet from the Ontario mainland. According to police, most of the shipments are timed to coincide with the arrivals of ferries on the St. Lawrence and Quebec mainland. These, trucks and cars are packed and driven to contact in Montreal and Toronto and either loaded into railcars or driven to the Six Nations Reserve just west of Hamilton, Ont.



RCMP officers stamping smuggled cigarettes: 'organized crime is moving in'

The financial rewards are clearly worth the risk. According to native smugglers, a carton of eight packs of 25 cigarettes can be brought into Canada for \$15. It is resold for \$20 or four dollars a pack on the street. By comparison, a legal carton of Player's Lights sold for \$67 in stores last week in Toronto. In fact, the L'Anse aux Meadows group estimates that in 1991 the value of smuggled tobacco was more than \$1 billion, and that federal and provincial governments had lost the same amount in potential tax revenues.

But the retail money being generated by illegal cigarette sales may be much higher, because most estimates do not include U.S.-bound cigarettes being smuggled into Canada. Nor do they take into account the fact that the Almonte Mohawks have struck deals with U.S. manufacturers to produce their own brands of Canadian-style cigarettes, which are sold in cigarette shops on Indian reserves. Sold under the brand names 100s and Pakers, the cigarettes are packaged to resemble True Master and Player's brands. And Canadian cigarette manufacturers do not like the competition. "It affects local loyalty," said Imperial's Denoncour. "Price is what drives the customer."

At the Six Nations Reserve, the owners of several smoke shops that have been established because of the smuggling trade say that people regularly travel hundreds of kilometers to buy large amounts of cigarettes, including native brands. One of last week's customers was John Gray, a soldier from nearby Paris, Ont., who bought three cartons for \$30 each. Said Gray: "We pay no tax on them at all."

In Waterloo, Col. Trichet, a regional intelligence officer with Canadian Customs, maintains that the Canadian public does not care about cigarette smuggling seriously enough. "Nobody wants to admit that it is a problem because people think it's a vicious crime," says Trichet. "It's tough to get an informed drug probe. And assigned city police and RCMP officers across the country say that they are too busy trying to catch major contraband suppliers to crack down on small operators, such as corner stores that resell the smuggled goods. 'It is a big business,'" said one businessman in Cambridge's Chinatown. "Everyone here knows where to get cheap cigarettes."

Ultimately, as the level of smuggling continues to increase, the federal government and the tobacco industry are proposing radically different solutions. Ottawa may force the industry to place much larger markings on packages so that smuggled cigarettes are easily recognizable. "We have to turn tobacco into a golden commodity," said Turner. "Stopping smuggling has to be a major priority." For now, smugglers and their clients, who are normally law-abiding citizens, will continue to do a booming trade.

TOM FENNELL with companion's report

## BOMBINGS IN ITALY

A series of apparently co-ordinated bombings of Italian cultural targets killed five people and injured 26 others. An explosion in Milan destroyed a wing of the Royal Palace, while bombs in Rome damaged the facade of St. John Lateran and destroyed the front of the 1,000-year-old church of San Giacomo in Velabro near the Tiber. Forrest Police suspect Mafia may be trying to derail investigations into a huge corruption scandal.

## BLINDING GAS

Czech military experts are investigating a possible link between the deadly nerve agent Sarin and so-called Gulf War Syndrome. Hundreds of American and Czech veterans have complained of fever, coughing, shortness of breath, diarrhea, fatigue and aching joints. Czech Defense Minister Antonin Boudry said that Czechs attacked to a Saudi military unit early in the 1991 Gulf War had detected traces of Sarin in the air after Allied air strikes on Iraqi chemical weapons plants.

## RACING FOR CHANGE

Eight Japanese opposition parties announced the formation of a minority coalition and called anti-govt campaign Mother's Association, 25, as their candidate for prime minister. Parliament scheduled a special session to name a successor to lame-duck Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa, whose Liberal Democratic Party lost its 35-year-old majority in a July 10 general election.

## A WOMAN TO THE RESCUE

The U.S. Senate judiciary committee unanimously approved the nomination of Ruth Bader Ginsburg, 61, as the nation's second woman Supreme Court justice, after Sandra Day O'Connor, appointed in 1981. The full Senate is expected to give Ginsburg final approval this week.

## A TONY DEBATE

Britain's Conservative party suffered a crushing by-election defeat to the centrist Liberal Democrats, losing a seat that it had held since 1950 in the south coast town of Chichester. The result put the Tory's majority in 17 to the 20-seat House of Commons. Party chairman Sir Norman Fowler blamed the loss on internal party wrangling over closer ties with Europe, voter apathy and the slowdown of economic recovery and a reduction of tax revenue between London and the Chichester constituency.



WORLD

# A WAR OF WILLS

ISRAEL UNLEASHES A DEVASTATING ATTACK ON SOUTHERN LEBANON

On July 12, Israeli tanks and aircraft removed their hands from their ringing ears. The deafening explosions at an altitude of 10,000 meters from the Israeli artillery battery across the Lebanese border had finally stopped. "It's the end of the shooting," said a smiling reporter. "No, really a young Israeli army corporal, 'No, this is the end of the war.'

In its most devastating attack against southern Lebanon since the 1989 invasion, Israel last week razed destruction upon dozens of smaller villages in a 50-km arc from the Mediterranean coast to the slopes of Mount Hermon. Day after day, big guns, along with attack helicopters, jet fighters and warships pounded areas held by the

Hezbollah militia and the fanatically militant Islamic tributaries of Hezbollah, the Iranian-backed "Army of God," whom members of both the Jewish state and the anti-Hezbollah press regularly dismiss as "the frogmen." The fierce resistance, however, had apparently won the day. The Israeli army, which retained after the 1985 withdrawal from Lebanon as a strategic buffer against guerrilla invasions from the north, attacked in early July after seven Israeli soldiers were killed.

In addition to flattening for those deafening hours in Israel's self-proclaimed "security zone" a southern Lebanon, the militia, who opened the Wadi Barada, a narrow pass, recently accelerated its vicious ground break toward the 10-km-wide zone the Israel retained after the 1985 withdrawal from Lebanon as a strategic buffer against guerrilla invasions from the north. Attacks in early July killed seven Israeli soldiers in the south.

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But the heaviest punishment came from the Israeli side. After five days of fighting, US observers said that 22,000 liters of heavier shells and 3,000 rockets landed north of the security zone, compared with 275 Katyushas fired at the Israeli. As northern Israelis suffered the attacks in dozens of Israeli and Jewish south, more than 300,000 southern Lebanese left, largely out of a total population of 800,000, fled northwards in cars, trucks and buses, jamming the fearfully crowded highways in

## Israel military approaching civilians

excess. The main charge was the use of Katyushas. Israel could not tolerate the memory of the 1991 war to its north for victory. "The government of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin stressed that it wanted to demonstrate to Hezbollah that it could not stand that it would not be permitted to export its guerrilla campaign, which ultimately seizes the existence of the Jewish state, across the Lebanon border into southern Israel." If there is no peace and quiet for our neighbors," Rabin warned the Islamic militia, "there will be no peace and quiet for those who attack them."

The hostiles, which these days seem to devolve the already staffed Arab Israeli peace talk, left a trail of human misery. In southern Israel, where Hezbollah killed two people and wounded more than 30 others, thousands of residents made out the attacks bomb shelters or sent their children to the safety of summer camps of rocket range. At one point last week to the Galilee panhandle town of Kiryat Shmona, barely a mile from the Lebanese border, a rocket scored a direct hit on a shelter. It did not penetrate the concrete roof but flung the black basalt rocks, which reinforced the shelter, in all directions. By chance, nobody was inside—many many residents had chosen to return to the comfort of their homes despite the danger. "The shelter is an oxymoron and smelly that nobody wants to use," explained Eliel Mizrahi, a 30-year-old father of four whose wife had been shot by flying shrapnel. Families with small children were leaving the hard-line town of Yael, Eshkol, 25, mother of a three-month-old child, ran out of baby formula because the shops were all closed. Her husband turned to the police, who forced a grocery store to open until his stocks ran out. The couple got the very last of the baby formula.

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Beth. "We are human beings, not animals," said As Brakat, 44, a refugee who stood in the blinding sun near Tyre hospital along with thousands of others wounded with shell to pieces from the fighting. "Let them have their war. Let them kill the children." The Israeli government and that while it represented the welfare of innocent civilians, it showed that the war of release was, which nevertheless had over 500 deaths in and around Beirut, would pursue the Lebanese government and as Syria's Ankara as much as Israel's security director in Israel from Lebanon and, while the Israeli government pushed for Hezbollah to stop the attacks, officials said that it could not risk in the gallant war Israel returned completely from southern Lebanon.

Israel's deliberate attempt to spread south Lebanon's civilian population drew strong worldwide condemnation. US Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali denounced the continuing attacks as southern Lebanon designs repeated appeals for restraint. Said the secretary general: "The policy of deliberately forcing people to abandon their homes must be stopped forthwith and those who have been displaced should be enabled to return to peace and safety."

In Washington, President Bill Clinton, who summoned Secretary of State Warren Christopher home from a tour of Asia to discuss the situation, called on both the Hezbollah guerrillas and the Israeli government to end the fighting. And while he praised Syria, which has 35,000 troops in Lebanon, for "showing restraint" in the crisis, he called on the government of Syrian President Hafez al-Assad to become an "active participant" in securing a ceasefire. Asked if Clinton would try to persuade Israel to stop the attacks, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was more cautious. She emphasized Clinton's support for US efforts to resolve Middle East peace talks, and added: "There's an ongoing dynamic of violence there and unless we can get some pressured international group to come in to help these situations, Syria's position is that we want to use peace talks to resolve."

At world's end, Israeli and guerrilla peace talks after Israel ordered an army to halt its seven-day assault to kill its seven-day assault, and with US mediation, and the Hezbollah guerrillas also won from Syria's Kurdish section at Israel, the Syrians, the Americans wanted, would respond hardly to any violation of the recent. Britain, the agreement said, could return to their homes in the south if peace was maintained. But as Christopher attempted to get the Hezbollah negotiations back on track, last week's dramatic battles were a reminder that, in the tense Middle East, peace continue to do a great deal of the talking.

SCOTT STEELE with APIC/REUTERS/Agence France Presse and independent agents

# A fair-weather friend?

*Bill Clinton still must prove himself to America's blacks*

Jessica Moore remembers going to vote in last November's US election as a polling station near the bar her mother owned in Memphis, Tenn., where a white assassin named James Earl Ray gunned down a charismatic black minister named Martin Luther King on an April night in 1968. Moore, an historian, now runs a museum in the former state that is dedicated to King's lifelong battle for equal civil rights. She recalls the anxiety on the face of an elderly black woman who was determined to cast her ballot last fall for the first Democrat in a decade with a better-than-ever chance of winning the White House. "She said 'I just. I would be here today if I had to crawl,'" Moore recounted last week. But nine months after Bill Clinton received 42 per cent of the black vote cast, most African Americans, says Moore, "have to dig a little deeper to find really good things to say about him."

In fact, Clinton's relationship with the 30 million US blacks was rocky even before his election. During the campaign Clinton squabbled with prominent Democratic Jesse Jackson and angered some blacks by criticizing rap singer Sister Souljah for what he suggested was her incitement of violence against whites. Since taking office, President Clinton has appointed a record number of blacks to administration positions, including Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown—the most senior cabinet post ever held by a black. But many African Americans express deep doubt at other Clinton decisions. The most notable: The President's reversal of a promise to ease Haitian immigration, his retreat from a program of economic stimulus for inner cities and his abandonment of controversial black lawyer Eric Garner's nomination as civil rights chief.

By last week, as Clinton scrambled to shore up support for his latest prominent appointment—black pediatrian Dr. Joycelyn Elders, his nominee for surgeon general—many blacks were beginning to question their long-standing loyalty to the Democratic party. Declared John Wiley Price, a city councilor in Dallas, Tex.: "We've got another black boy who is a little younger and says he is from another generation. But he has not raised the issues that are germane to our community."

Increasingly, those concerns reflect the failure to turn civil rights victories that King fought for in the 1960s into tangible economic and social gains for the 75 per cent of Americans who are black. Evidence of the continuing inequality and open segregation that persist between America's black minority and its white majority is widespread, but Today reported last week that 1991 drug arrest records showed that blacks, who use drugs in roughly equal proportion to whites, were four times as likely to be arrested on drug-related charges. That means, in other words, that blacks, among other things, are less likely to receive mortgages than equally qualified whites are. Few, if likely to be surprised, will find such stark figures the most noteworthy rate of white-on-black crime.

Meanwhile, a frightening last week served grim notice that the violent white racism towards blacks that once lit up the night sky in southern towns with the flames of burning crosses is far from extinguished. The attack on the Sacramento,



Clinton with Elders, standing by his nominee

Cahf., office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the country's largest civil rights organization, came and one week after an assault on an NAACP office in Tucson, Ariz. And earlier last month authorities in California rounded up four groups of white supremacists and harassed them of leaders of white organizations who had organized "a race to hell" by attacking black targets. Among the targets was the First African Methodist Episcopal church in Los Angeles, where Mark Whalock, director of an economic development program operated by the church, told *Newsweek*: "This isn't an example for the world to see what we do. We experience racism every day."

Whalock is one of many blacks who give Clinton a mixed grade on his race relations performance to date. "Never before in history have we had so many African Americans opportunities," he observed. But Whalock called the President's withdrawal of Garner's nomination—which came after Clinton and he could not support her writings on the need for radical changes to the criminal system in order to increase minority representation in politics—"cowardly at best."

Backing off on the Garner appointment provoked a firestorm among black leaders. Vice-President Al Gore got a cool reception when he addressed the NAACP's national convention in July where, a day later, Garner received a hero's welcome. And black leaders dug at their heels over the importance of confirming Elders's nomination. A 35-year-old physician who was director of the Arkansas Department of Health from 1987 until last month, Elders had come under attack from several religious and mostly white conservative groups for her advocacy of early age of abortion and the free distribution of condoms in public schools; measures aimed at reducing teenage pregnancies and the spread of AIDS—both of which disproportionately afflict blacks. Declared Jim Parish, a spokesman for the Concerned Women for America: "Joycelyn Elders is Clinton's most radical appointment yet."

Parish described the physician's stand on early sex education (which) has the support of the American Medical Association, among other professional groups) as "unconcerned to educate child abuse."

But among blacks, the Elders appointment became a litmus test for Clinton's commitment in ensuring that blacks with liberal credentials will play a prominent role in his administration. "She speaks to the heart of many issues that the African American community has been most concerned about," said Pamela Daniels, a Fort Worth, Tex., attorney who specializes in family law. "I think she's going to be great."

Determined to maintain a popular edge, the White House unleashed a full-court press last week to demonstrate what a spokesman said was Clinton's 100-per-cent support for Elders. The administration organized a coalition of 150 health care, education and religious groups to counter Parish and his allies. Meanwhile Gore and Senator Edward Kennedy, the latter sporting a button reading

"Support your Elders," lobbied senators on the nominee's behalf. By last last week, the offensive appeared to be having effect. On Friday, the Senate Labor and Human Resources committee, which Kennedy chairs, approved Elders's nomination. But opponents promised a roll-call fight to overturn the nomination when it comes before the full Senate for a vote, expected this week.

Even if Elders is finally confirmed, many blacks warned that their support for the Democratic party on race-related matters should no longer be taken for granted. "We vote a Democratic line," observed attorney Duran, expressing a common analysis, "so he doesn't have to do anything to get our vote." That, she said, must change. "We need to go back to the drawing board and come up with a strategy to leverage our vote."

Like many blacks, Duran welcomed recent steps by the 29-member Congressional Black Caucus, the largest African-American delegation ever on Capitol Hill to extract some concessions from the administration in return for its support. After Garner's withdrawal, the caucus submitted several White House concerns and refused to meet with Clinton in discuss his stalled budget. Declared caucus chairman Representative Kweisi Mfume (D-Md.): "One of the great weaknesses of the Democratic party is that black have no voice in it."

Los Angeles church activist Whalock says that African-American leaders must begin to look beyond politics. "We put too much credence in our political rights," Whalock asserts. "The political gains of the 60s and the 70s, for the African American in the 1980s, have been very small." Instead, Whalock wants to see more focus and attention in black-owned business, education and family stability.

"We'll give up completely on Clinton?" Certainly not, he said. "But the question must continue to grow larger." For Clinton such new readings mean that he will have to work harder than any Democratic president in recent history for the once-reliable support of millions of black American voters.

CHRIS WOOD in Dallas with WILLIAM LOWMYER in Washington

who wears khakis?



# Reasonable doubt

Israel's Supreme Court acquits Demjanjuk

**F**or a moment, it seemed that the years of military confinement had deprived John Demjanjuk of all emotion. Or maybe, at age 73, he was simply weary from the fight. For whatever reason, the bespectacled former Cleveland, Ohio, autoworker displayed no elation, or even relief, as he listened to the Israeli Supreme Court in Jerusalem acquit him of some of the most heinous crimes in history. Demjanjuk had been facing a death sentence since his 1988 conviction, based on the record of being "Ivan the Terrible," a vile guard responsible for the deaths of thousands of Jews at the Nazi extermination camp at Treblinka, Poland, during the Second World War. Last week's verdict revealed that sentence, ended seven years of confinement in Israel's prison and brought to a close a legal struggle that, for Demjanjuk, began in 1970. His son, John Jr., went and said he was "glad to see that [the judge] actually had the courage to stop the injustice." But Demjanjuk, a bold and be-spectacled native of Ukraine, made his one plaintive comment to reporters: "I miss my wife. I miss my family. I miss my grandchildren. I want to go home."

Demjanjuk, however, will not go home, at least not yet. His adopted country, the United States, has forbade him to return on the grounds that he lied on his 1959 immigration application. Moreover, the court made clear that, while there was reasonable doubt that he was Treblinka's *Ivan*, there was evidence that Demjanjuk had been a guard at at least one other death camp. (Demjanjuk claims to have spent the last years of the war being detained by the Germans, not working for them.) In hearing the 20-hour judgment, Israeli Chief Justice Meir Shamgar and the five justices—elected one Justice Aharon Barak, who was a child survivor of the Holocaust—decided not to convict Demjanjuk on that evidence only

because he had not had the chance to defend himself against those specific charges.

The verdict may have a chilling effect on future prosecutions of suspected war criminals. Legal experts say that, to some extent, Demjanjuk's acquittal discredited the testimony of eyewitnesses and raised questions about whether any testimony can be regarded as credible 50 years after the fact. Demjanjuk was originally convicted after he had been identified as Ivan by four survivors of Treblinka, a camp where more than 800,000 Jews were killed in gas chambers in 1942 and 1943. But his original guard escapes, and after the 1988 release of previously secret Soviet files, it was indicated that another Ukrainian, Ivan Marchenko, was the master of Treblinka. The judges are saying that Ivan not Marchenko, and Josef Czerny, one of the five eyewitnesses, after the argument: "I shall carry that stain to my dying day. I say to the most honorable judges: Wrong! Wrong! Wrong! Where is the justice in this?" Demjanjuk is 100 percent guilty."

But many Jewish leaders praised the court for seeking justice, not vengeance. United Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal said that he would have handed down the same verdict. "As a Jew, I am proud of the way the Supreme Court handled the case," said Wiesenthal, who in 1960 tracked down Grischa (Gesch) Adolf Eichmann, the only man ever executed by Israel living. Abella, president of the Montreal-based Canadian Jewish



Demjanjuk in prison: reasonable doubt is Treblinka's 'Ivan the Terrible'

Congress, agreed with Wiesenthal. "It is clear that the whole thing was a bad up," Abella said, "but it showed that Jews can judge war criminals."

If the Demjanjuk case has devolved the le-

gal power of eyewitness accounts of Nazi war crimes, it may force those who hope to prosecute suspected criminals to change their tactics. In Ottawa, the just-appointed war crimes section is working to

set a March, 1994, deadline to wrap up its seven cases in Canada. But at a meeting in Justice Minister Pierre Blaik's Ottawa office in June, Canadian Jewish Congress officials urged the department to revoke citizenship rights of suspected Nazi war criminals on the basis that they left their posts to get into Canada. Deporting them, said CJ's president, Abella, requires compelling less evidence than would a kill-bedecked criminal prosecution for war crimes.

By his muted response to his acquittal, Demjanjuk seemed to understand that his was a Pyrrhic victory. His first class of "free men" were spent long in his prison cell near Tel Aviv, under protective rules and a country agreed to accept him. At week's end, Ukrainian officials said that Demjanjuk would not return to his Kishinev home. But the Israeli justice ministry said Demjanjuk could only leave if the Supreme Court, meeting Sunday, rejected calls for him to be tried on other war crimes charges. Clearly, the case remained an unsettling ambiguity. "This is a very, very bad day for the survivors, a very tragic day for the wrong people," said Ethan Jacob, Israel's leading Nazi hunter. "The fact that he was acknowledged on the one hand to be a Nazi war criminal, and on the other was able to walk out of here a free man, means that the law was inferior. But justice wasn't done."

JAMES DEACON with JEFFREY SIEGEL in Jerusalem



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# BREWING UP A STORM

## BREWERS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER ARE FOAMING OVER A NEW BEER TRADE PACT

**F**or many American beer drinkers, the beverage in the glass grows bitter with the magnetic cause on the brain in a豪放—and popular—event: Since Moosehead Breweries Ltd. of Saint John, N.B., first began exporting beer to the United States in 1978, it has become the seventh-largest imported beer of the 480 brands available in that market. Moosehead also sells its beer in England, Australia, and, since April, in Sweden. Until recently, inter-provincial trade barriers blocked Moosehead, Canada's third-largest brewery, from selling beer elsewhere in the country. But with trade barriers now dismantling, Moosehead is available in all provinces except Quebec and Saskatchewan. Nevertheless, energy minister Derek O'Gard says that many provinces still have protective measures in place in the form of restrictive pricing policies and distribution systems. Such policies, he argues, disadvantage against out-of-province brewers, making their products more costly and harder for consumers to find. Declared O'Gard: "It is easier for us to get into Sweden than into some provinces in Canada."

American brewers have long made similar complaints about provincial beer-marketing practices—especially those in Ontario, the largest beer market in Canada. In fact, the most recent round of provincial beer skirmishes began a year ago, when Washington stopped a 33 U.S. day on each case of Canadian beer shipped to the United States through Ontario. Canada retaliated with an equivalent tariff on American beer shipped to Ontario. That dispute was triggered when the United States accused Canada of dragging its foot on earlier promises to dismantle its provincial barriers to trade, which restricted most beer from other countries. For the mature U.S. beer industry, whose over-saturated market is already served by some of the largest brewers in the world, Canada's \$1-billion beer market offered a tempting way to expand its

sales. But faced with steadily declining beer consumption, the Canadian industry is in no rush to welcome U.S. imports. Still, after the Geneva-based General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) ruled an two separate to assessments that Canada must remove its trade barriers to beer, it began reluctantly to do so.

In May, Canadian and U.S. negotiators resumed their discussions. Some, state government and industry insiders say that they soon expect to see that conflict resolved under a new beer trade agreement. The negotiators are trying to come to agreement over issues such as minimum price, taxes and special environmental levies on some provinces. However, they have reportedly left intact each province's methods of distributing and selling beer.

Whether progress is made at the bargaining table, however, the dispute over beer may be far from over. Although details of the talks have not been formally released, federal negotiators have kept the provinces informed—and many of them already say that they will not accept the emerging proposals. In fact, senior provincial officials of New Brunswick, Quebec and British Columbia all told *Maclean's* they will not agree to the deal as it now appears to be shaping up. And because sales of alcohol beverages are under provincial jurisdiction, any federal agreement would, in effect, be powerless without the support of the provinces. Says Denis Lortie, New Brunswick's minister of economic development: "We should settle our problems internally before we settle with the Americans." He added: "We won't jump to this deal if our products are treated the same as foreign products in Ontario."

Indeed, such an overlap of inter-provincial and international trade issues could greatly complicate negotiations to resolve the pro-



O'Gard: "It is easier to get into Sweden than into some provinces in Canada"

tracted trade dispute. For one thing, U.S. negotiators have been pushing for a "stand-still" clause that could banish provinces from adjusting some of their current beer market practices. As a result, it would complicate provincial efforts to achieve reciprocity with Ontario—a key factor in reducing inter-provincial barriers. For Quebec, the new beer trade proposals are fully unacceptable. "We supported the April, 1992, Canada-U.S. agreement, subject to reciprocity," said Jean-Claude Quétier, the minister for international affairs. "But that did not happen." He added: "The position of Quebec has not changed. We are prepared to live by that agreement. Quebec is not the one holding up this deal."

For his part, David Zoricht, minister of economic development, small business and trade for British Columbia, claims that the Canada-U.S. beer dispute also raises the issue of sovereignty for all the provinces involved. British Columbia is currently considering environmental legislation that would affect all beverage containers—whether beer. But if the proposed stand-still clause went into effect, the province could have difficulty proceeding. The United

States wants to muscle in on the province. "They won't give up provincial sovereignty for international trade."

Jonathan Lance, a Canadian trade analyst with the National Planning Association, a Washington-based trade think tank, notes that it is significant that the United States has specifically targeted such provincial trade practices for the first time. It is unusual, he says, for the U.S. government to focus an attack on a sub-set of governments, rather than a national government. "This is interesting because of how rare and unique because of the extent to which Ontario and others subsidize certain industries," Lance explained, adding that if Washington succeeds in forcing Ontario to back down, it will then likely go after other provinces. "The provinces are now more vulnerable than they were in the past to actions from the United States."

Efforts at lowering barriers to trade in beer—both inter-provincially and interprovincially—have stalled before. Since the 1980s, provincial regulations have required breweries to make beer in the province where they sell it. But in 1988, Ottawa ruled that all the provinces' liquor, beer and wine regulations discriminated against foreign producers. That ruling compelled Ottawa and the provinces to begin negotiations to arm the provinces with tools of barriers. The United States agreed to exempt beer under the 1989 Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (FTA), provided that Canada complied with GATT rules and did not erect any new barriers. In 1989, however, the Ontario government sharply increased "handling charges" as a cover of beer from outside the province. Since then it has been at the center of the beer trade dispute. In 1990, actions prompted Stroh Brewery Co. of Detroit and G. Heileman Brewing Co. of La Crosse, Wis., to file a petition against Ontario under U.S. trade law. Under the U.S. Trade Act, American companies can request Washington to estable-  
-lish foreign countries that violate U.S. rights under GATT. The United States in turn took the matter to GATT.

As a result, Canada reached an agreement in principle in April, 1992, to the beer and

### RINGING IN NEW BUSINESS

Northern Telecom Ltd. of Mississauga, Ont., has sold \$225 million worth of telephone equipment to China. Under an arrangement with the Chinese government, Northern will invest up to \$500 million over the next two years to develop, manufacture and sell its switches through local joint ventures. The company recently completed part of a \$1.3-billion two-phase plan in meeting sales of its equipment in the highly competitive U.S. market. Last week, Northern's Montreal-based parent company, AT&T, reported \$5.5 billion loss for the second quarter of 1992, which is blamed in part on problems in Japan.

### TURMOIL AT THE TRU

The German Bundesbank's refusal to cut its benchmark discount interest rate brought turmoil to other European currencies and raised pressure on France and other countries to pull out of the joint European Rate Mechanism last week. Germany's high interest rates, which result from concern about an 8.5-percent inflation rate, have forced other European countries to keep their rates higher. Germany's discount rate, the lowest rate for loans to commercial banks, remained at 8.75 percent.

### A STAGHORN ECONOMY

Canada's gross domestic product hardly budged in May, according to Statistics Canada. The value of total goods and services produced in the economy, measured by industry production and at annual rates, was \$552.6 billion in May, compared with \$552.4 billion in April. The value of goods produced fell 0.2 per cent in May after a 0.7-per-cent drop in April. The Conference Board of Canada said last week that it has lowered its forecast for economic growth this year to 2.8 per cent from 3.7 per cent.

### RESERVATIONS RAISED

The Federal Court of Canada has ruled in favor of Canadian Airlines International Ltd. of Calgary in the latest spat between CAI and Air Canada of Montreal. The court confirmed that the federal competition tribunal has the power to release Canadian from its obligation in the GATT reservation network. Canadian set up the network with Air Canada but it was never levered into effect. Canadian and the Sabre network to qualify for a \$365-million injection from AMR Corp., which owns American Airlines and Sabre.

open trade of beer by Sept. 30, 1995. But in May, 1992, Ontario also levied a 10-cent-a-litre environmental tax on aluminum beer cans. Ontario claims such an environmental tax is legal under GATT, but U.S. brewers say that in light of the fact that most American beer is sold in cans, the tax is really just thinly disguised protectionism. Randy Seads, general counsel at Heublein's, said that the company does not object to environmental taxes, but that they are not legally applied. But he noted that the tax does not apply to beer, but that it is applied to beer cans. Canadian beer is sold in cans, he argued.

Ontario, however, has managed to emerge off national protectionist pressure by establishing a minimum province beer tax of \$1.85 for a case of 24 beers. As well, the Upper Control Board of Ontario's beer regulations changes for advertising and distributing imported beer that do not apply to locally brewed products. Furthermore, Brewers United Inc., which Molson and Labatt breweries control in Ontario, charges more to warehouse and distribute out-of-province beer. Accordingly, a smug of Montréal's cost of \$1.85 in Ontario, while regular Molson and Labatt brands cost \$1.75.

For the giant American breweries, who often compete on price as well as taste, those additional revenues create a major stumbling block. Under the terms of the pending beer trade agreement, reached so far between Canada and the United States, there is provision to reduce Ontario's distribution fees "substantially." But the minimum price for a case of beer would be reduced only slightly and the U.S.-centric environment levy would remain. Seads says that Heublein will appeal to Congress if U.S. trade officials agree to those terms.

Despite Ontario's claim that the minimum price is a social-welfare policy designed to discourage alcohol consumption, critics say the province could achieve its aims more fully in other ways. Instead, they suggest that Ontario should uniformly raise its environmental tax on beer, but those companies live in different (their own) provinces. They shouldn't, Seads argued with the price to the consumer, Seads added. "The long-simmering beer war is just one more issue on the increasingly complex list of trade disputes between Canada and the United States. Free steel to softwood lumber, the two sides have agreed each

other of "dumping," or selling products at less than fair value, in their markets. In each case, Canada and the United States are pursuing all available options, including appealing to their own trade commissions as well as

## A TRADE ROUNDUP

### THE BURDEN OF PROOF

A Canadian-U.S. trade panel ruled last week that there was scant evidence that Canadian exports of softwood lumber had harmed U.S. producers. The U.S. International Trade Commission has until Oct. 25 to reconsider its decision in May, 1992, to impose a provisional 6.51-per-cent duty on Canadian softwood.



### A CANADA-U.S. STAND-OFF

The Canadian International Trade Tribunal upheld anti-dumping duties of up to 87.3 per cent on cold-rolled sheet steel imports last week. Two days earlier, the U.S. International Trade Commission overruled dumping claims against hot- and cold-rolled steel from 20 countries, including Canada. However, it upheld import duties of 36.9 per cent on galvanized steel and 88.7 per cent on steel plate from Canada.



### STILL TO BE

NAFTA is scheduled to take effect Jan. 1, 1994. But President Bill Clinton has said he will not take the agreement to the U.S. Congress unless side deals are struck on labor and the environment. These very negotiations of those side agreements continued in Washington last week.



the dispute-settlement mechanism provided under the ITA. Some disagreement on how to agree still crop up. Last week, Trade Minister Tim Flitton met with U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor and Mexican Commerce Secretary Jesus Serra Pachon to try to reach an agreement on side deals to tie

North American Free Trade Agreement. Canada has already ratified NAFTA, but President Bill Clinton has issued an supplemental agreement to protect labor and the environment. Although negotiators have agreed on most technical issues involved in the side deals, a key U.S. demand remains unresolved: trade sanctions that would punish countries that fail to enforce labor and trade laws. Canada has sided with Mexico in opposing the proposed sanctions. U.S. industry, they say, could flee the market to bypass their Canadian and Mexican competitors.

Despite the lack of intimacy between the two countries, trade experts stress that the United States is not singling out Canada. According to Charles Doris, director of Canadian studies at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, the fragile global economy is at the root of the current problems. As many U.S. industries continue to slump, they are pushing Washington for protection. "In Washington, there is about the same kind of goodwill towards Canada as always," says Doris. "But the economic climate is really tough. Until we get into a boom period where the economies are growing rapidly, these trade disputes will not go away, they will seem to get worse."

Among Canadian brewers, the Molson Co. Ltd. of Toronto has been hardest hit by the U.S. duties, paying about \$5 million a month to ship beer over the Ontario border to the United States. The company would welcome an end to the dispute, said Harry John, the company's senior vice-president. But as a result of Canada's stunning victory on softwood lumber, he noted, "the political landscape may have changed enough to scuttle the [beer] deal." According to John, while there is no direct link between those two trade issues, "it's conceivable

that some trade-offs take place, especially in the realm of political goodwill." But as the current standstill continues, goodwill—even among the provinces—appears to be in short supply.

**MARK MCKENNA** with  
**WILLIAM CONNOLLY** in Washington

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Hospital workers in Ontario, Ont.: People are concerned about themselves

## Great divides

### Austerity forces hard choices in Ontario

**T**he air outside the Oshawa Holiday Inn, 90 km east of Toronto, was hazy and hot on the morning of July 20. Roads, small clusters of people, drivers in South Africa, the performance of a qualified meeting room. The strong contrast of about 75 healthcare workers who are members of Regis 2 at the 110,000 member Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU). They had gathered, full of questions and concerns, to learn more about the protracted "seal contract" negotiations between their union, their employers and the NDP government of Ontario. With the legislated Aug. 1 deadline for agreements on public sector spending cuts looming, the atmosphere in the room was tense. The six unions representing the healthcare sector had signed an agreement on July 12. But at the last minute, the Ontario Hospital Association, which represents 223 public hospitals, balked and refused to sign the deal. Said Michael Sparrow, a physiatrist at Peter-McCurdy Hospital: "We sit at lunch all the time and sit about what's going on and try to understand it. But even after the meeting, she adds, "it's all so confusing."

According to Brian Toppes, a political science professor at Wilfrid Laurier University in Waterloo, Ont., there is no historical precedent or "norm" for a collectively negotiated social contract in Ontario. In fact, he says, there is not even a tradition of union solidarity in the province. "The NDP tried to implement its workers model that took years to develop elsewhere," says Sparrow. "They introduced a public service as established practice." That lack of experience in such complex tasks and the widely divergent interests among—and within—the right sectors have contributed to mass

on May 10, Premier Bob Rae declared that Ontario would cut \$2 billion a year from its next \$45-billion public-sector budget and as part of an agreement with the NDP, the budget deficit below \$10 billion. Initial attempts at massive collective bargaining sessions, covering 225 separate unions, 9,000 labor agreements and 350 public-sector employers, quickly degenerated into chaos and conflict. The government then divided the public sector into eight key groups, negotiating each sector a specific budget, reflecting target, for any agreements now to be applied at the local level. "A very Canadian pattern of bargaining is emerging," said Donald Carter, dean of law at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont. "It is fragmented and decentralized. Ontario's social contract will be forged locally—not at the big tables."

According to the coerced last-minute effort at most fronts to negotiate agreements, the Canadian Union of Public Employees, the largest public-sector union, concluded its buyout of the table. And the OPSEU spokesman John McCloskey: "Once these ridiculous deadlines are past, we will start our political lobbying." And for thousands of union public-sector employers, that shambolic state ensures even more uncertainty ahead.

Sparrow is not the only one among Ontario's 950,000 public-sector employees to express frustration at the bitter wrangling and lingering uncertainty that have rocked the social contract talk. Weeks before his government's provincial budget was outlined

confusion, Sparrow explains:

The social contract, which is defined by the recently passed Bill 10, provided drivers across various fat unions to co-operate with a process that they criticized harshly and resisted strongly. Under the law, we had groups that successfully concluded an agreement by Aug. 1 automatically qualified for a 20-per-cent reduction in the amounts they must cut from their budgets. At stake in the healthcare field, for example, was a reduction in the required annual cuts to \$470 million from \$500 million as a reward for reaching a voluntary agreement. Furthermore, the law promised any union that concluded such a deal permission to negotiate their own local solutions to achieve those required cuts. By cooperating, they also stood to gain access to a \$50-million public-sector job security fund and more detailed financial information about their workplace. But on the eve of the deadline at week's end, only the social-services and municipal sectors, covering about 220,000 workers, had reached agreements.

Putting full agreement by the deadline, the provincial government was empowered to extend sectoral discussions by another 30 days. Without such an extension, a so-called mid-life provision of Bill 10 becomes effective. That clause permits enforcement of a three-year wage freeze, layoffs and 20 per cent of annual wages to be "reduced to make these changes under the law as they should be done." In other words, Ontario's health sector managers can hold the Oshawa meeting's last week. But he said: "We're all sitting at those tables to continue the damage."

Then came various unions braving their differences and forging agreements at the sectoral level. There is an even bigger battle ahead at the local level. Said John Gates, an executive board member of Region 3 and a trustee at Whitchurch Psychiatric Hospital in Whitchurch, Ont.: "We realize how much older adults we try to share, we can never overcome all the fear and anxiety out there." Furthermore, Gates admitted that union solidarity can be difficult to maintain where workers feel threatened.

Despite the coerced last-minute effort at most fronts to negotiate agreements, the Canadian Union of Public Employees, the largest public-sector union, concluded its buyout of the table. And the OPSEU spokesman John McCloskey: "Once these ridiculous deadlines are past, we will start our political lobbying." And for thousands of union public-sector employers, that shambolic state ensures even more uncertainty ahead.

—DERRICK MCMILLAN

# Wielding the corporate axe

## IBM and Northern Telecom grapple with plans for massive staff layoffs

**I**t is the announcement that every employee of a large organization demands: massive job cuts, with little warning of where the axe will fall. Last week, Louis Gerstner, the new chairman of beleaguered computer giant International Business Machines Corp., announced plans to slash 60,000 jobs from IBM's worldwide payroll!

Boekeler added that that it is understandable the first instinct of most employers during a business slump is to sit back and pray for a turnaround. If problems persist, they usually consider other options for saving money or enhancing revenues first. At Northern Telecom, while Morley is reducing staff, he also plans to invest \$150 million in new

the end of this year, company managers planned various possible cuts into a computer program that then spit out cost and profit projections. But IBM Canada's director of communications, Robert Wylie, acknowledged that the computer projections are an important road map. "You can run the financials off the road map, but there are emotional and human considerations that you can't plug into the model," he said.

How employees respond to cut backs can also wreak havoc with those cost projections—especially if employers rely on voluntary departures, which often cost more in compensation than forced layoffs. Both IBM and Northern Telecom are encouraging employees to leave voluntarily with generous exit-incentive or lump-sum buyout packages. And in IBM's case, the company has already attracted \$8,000 volunteers worldwide—25,000 more than it projected—an for an early retirement program it announced last year. These 25,000 jobs, and the \$2 billion IBM is in charge of managing with eliminating them were part of the program announced by Gerstner last week.

Relying on volunteers rather than layoffs, however, raises the question: can companies cut live volunteers which repays them. Wylie said that last Canada has already sent many employees it asked highly who left on their own. IBM, while the company has not formally laid off any, Wylie said that managers have approached him to offer their services. "We have advised them that their skills do not fit well with the company's future direction. At Northern Telecom, company spokesman Robert O'Brien was blunter.

"It would be dangerous to say that these will not be layoffs," he said.

Even IBM and Northern Telecom achieve their targets through voluntary departures. Boekeler and O'Brien analyze any cuts alone may not push the companies back into profitability quickly. Boekeler said that, in reality at least, cutting staff can lower production. As well, his staff and engineers "when



Gerstner trying to avoid the "Chinese water torture"

software to upgrade Northern Telecom's product line—a move that analysts say is inevitable. At IBM, former chairman John Akers also struggled to streamline operations, and as staff employees and investment into the business—had finally competitive—per-unit computer market faced a critical turn for large mainframe computers. But Akers was ousted in March by company directors who were impatient with his reforms.

IBM and Gerstner and Morley acknowledge that these new corporate strategies cannot produce a turnaround at their companies without accompanying payroll cuts. As any corporate downsizing, just setting the number of jobs to be cut is a complex process.

At IBM Canada, which announced a June 1 plan to eliminate more than 800 jobs by

JOHN DALY



# The secret boom: our underground economy

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

**T**here's a hot rumor floating around British Columbia's barrooms these days that has set even their most unromantic accountants into a lury. According to the latest buzz, the government is to introduce a new budget to introduce a form of wealth tax.

Apart from its ideological comfort zone, supporters of such a tax by an '89 government makes sense for two reasons: it's the only form of taxation that the Public Accounts' now-stunned government has yet to tap and Maurice Marcil, the minister, recently suggested dropping almost a page of tax advice in a paper when he was director of the University of Victoria's Law School advertising program, such a levy. There are several reasons, but the Marcil model calls for every taxpayer to sacrifice his or her assets—house, car, personal effects, savings, and so on—without subtracting outstanding debts. Dan pay out a low- or five-per-cent assessment on the balance. This yearly wealth tax would replace all other forms of taxation, including income tax and the GST. What would be so attractive about the scheme, as a rationale basis—though it does assets and savings that have already been taxed when they were originally earned—is the size of the available pool. Estimates of Canadian personal wealth range from \$3 trillion to \$4 trillion.

Should a wealth tax be imposed—said Ontario's Fair Tax Commission, has recommended a similar scheme—this country's more affluent citizens, whose combined federal/provincial personal income tax rates are edging up to 35 per cent, would begin to join some of the country's less economically advantaged citizens. \$800, there's a bond beyond which higher taxes prompt revolution instead of compliance. Canadians' traditional deference to authority has historically extended to the unconstitutional act of paying taxes. (Or, for that matter, even to cheating on them.) National Revenue statistics show that while incomes of billions of dollars go

undetected, the tax system is all around us. Rare is the Canadian household who hasn't been offered a chunky discount by some appliance/service technician, providing the payment is strictly cash. It's all part of the underground economy—the only sector of Canadian business that's really boozing. Because it is clandestine by definition and purpose accurate figures are hard to come by but the generally accepted estimate is that private consumer cash transactions worth \$20 billion either go unreported under regular

What originally ignited this spark of discontent was the massive protest at the time of the Mulroney government's introduction of the GST in 1991. The fact that Ottawa collected about \$16 billion from the GST over the past two years instead of the \$8 billion that should have come in, based on actual revenue spending, reflects the level of tax avoidance that's going on. At the same time, lower and quicker smuggling across the U.S. border are flourishing. And more and more canadians are setting up work exchanges that allow people to trade skills and services outside the tax system.

Despite its commercial needs, the underground economy is as much a political phenomenon. When people feel alienated and recognize the resultant benefits, they lose faith in the system and begin to drop out of its institutions, such as traditional political parties.

No comment has gone further on this than Luis Aranberri. According to recent estimates, the black market in Peru, his country's economy is at least 40 per cent of total trade and 56 per cent of public financial tools. The Peruvian economist laments the SoA resolution that this is as it should be because "if it weren't for underground entrepreneurs there would be more hunger, unemployment, and misery. Thanks to the creative and spontaneous response of the exposure of the market, the poor have jobs and access to consumer goods." Former Peruvian presidential candidate, Vito Villas Llosa, notes that arguments are step further when he points out that the underground economy taking over his country is revolutionizing the very foundations of Peru's society.

That's the real story of the underground economy. The success of all that defiance that has walked over Canada through most of our 125-year history has burned itself out. For too long, we have excelled at making the worst of bad situations, underestimating our individual and collective worth, pretending that the politicians know best and that our duty is to quietly finance their vote-gathering games.

Fearful disorder more than exploitation, we dodged away our self esteem and our paternity in the revolutions we failed to launch and the riots we didn't like. That self-deprecating ethic may have worked for us once but that was long ago. Now is the time for all good men—and women—to come to the aid of themselves.

*There comes a point when governments stop being believed and taxpayers rise up and shout: "Enough!" That moment is here.*

unreported, 50 per cent of fraudulent returns are filed on time.]

But there comes a point when governments stop being believed and taxpayers rise up and shout: "Enough!" That moment is here.

Several organizations, notably the Ottawa-based Canadian Taxpayers Federation (CTF) are dedicated to isolating these segments. It estimates that three decades ago the average Canadian family paid 36 per cent of its gross income in taxes. By 1988, taxes had shot up to 49 per cent of earnings, a stunning 12.5-per-cent increase.

The CTF already has more than 100,000 members and aims to become an effective "counter" to the supposed ("spent") interest group, expressing the frustrations of an angry minority but of a furious majority.

The group has yet to adopt an official slogan, but it could do worse than to use the closing lines of a speech delivered to the closing convention last February. "There is no higher sovereign or sovereignty than the people." Low Ulmer, the leader of a corresponding American interest group, believed at delegates, "If your government—take control of it."

That kind of popular uprising remains a

A special Advertising Supplement to the August 9, 1993 issue of Maclean's Magazine, produced in cooperation with the Canada Games Council.



Kelowna, B.C. CIC '93,  
August 8-13 1993

# 1993 Canada Summer Games

## Highlights:

- Premier amateur sporting event in Canada
- 4,000 athletes, coaches, managers and officials will participate
- Funding from Federal, Provincial, Civic governments and the corporate sector
- Budget of over \$20 million for capital and operating costs
- 300 media expected including CBC/SRC
- over 7000 volunteers involved
- events for athletes with a disability included for first time
- integrated Native participation

# Every two years, they gather in friendship at the Canada Games.

They bring their dreams,  
their pride and a commitment  
to honest effort.

#### Canada's athletes.

With the support of family and friends,  
and the advice of their coaches,  
they welcome the personal challenge,  
they compete in a spirit of fair play,  
and they bring honour to their country.

**Fitness and Amateur Sport** is proud to  
recognize and support Canada's young  
athletes at the Canada Games  
in KAMLOOPS, British Columbia  
from August 8 to August 21.



## THE PROGRESSIVE GAMES

The City of Kamloops is marking its centennial in 1993, and every province and territory in the land will share in the celebration, at the 1993 Canada Games, August 8 through 21.

And as the Canada Games touch a life in British Columbia for the first time since the 1975 Summer Games in New Westminster and Burnaby, there will be more to celebrate than just the birthday. There will be uniquely progressive Games.

Some 4,800 athletes, 480 officials and 900 coaches will take part in 15 sports. And for the first time, athletes with a disability will be integrated into the program as part of the main event. Full medal status will be provided for blind athletes who will compete in swimming and track and field and for wheelchair athletes who will compete in track and field.

The Kamloops Canada Games have a budget of \$60 million with nearly \$10 million of that dedicated to capital expenses in creating the base sports facilities in the interests of British Columbia. The Federal Government, Government of British Columbia, and the City of Kamloops are the primary funding partners. The private sector continues to be a significant source of youth and amateur sport as the 1993 Canada Games Society has teamed up with some 116 Corporate Sponsors and Supporters to help make the dreams of Canadian youth a reality.



Among the many lasting sports legacies will be Balsam Mountain Stadium. Located at the University College of the Cariboo, the Stadium will feature opening and closing ceremonies and track and field competitions. Adjacent to the Olympic caliber 3-lane track and fieldhouse will be the new Canada Games Aquatics Centre, the crown jewel of the sport facilities. The Olympic-sized pool will have leisure and rehabilitation features added after the Canada Games to service the community. Some softball competitions and the Rowing, Sailing, Water skiing and Canoeing events will be located in conservation of the Thompson-Nicola Regional District, where residents have provided financial and volunteer support. Rugby, a popular sport in B.C., will benefit from a new complex.

#### YOU'RE INVITED

Kamloops is located in a beautiful valley at the meeting of the North and South Thompson Rivers in the心脏 of the province. Home of 100,000 and growing, Kamloops and residents of the Thompson Nicola Regional District are getting ready to welcome thousands of visitors who will be visiting the city for the Games. A force of about 7,000 volunteers includes over 500 special guests. They are two masters, a pair of co-ops named Banting and Galt. Their diverse names reflect a western flavor that a more northerly town Pacific Coast. Gate drives are open for Kamloops, a city that has its own official branding iron - a smiling heart next to a big 'K'. Kamloops is an easy 3 1/2 hour drive from Vancouver on the Coquihalla Highway, and just an hour



from Calgary on the Trans-Canada Highway.

Kamloops and region is proud to be hosting the 1993 Canada Summer Games. Our community has worked extremely hard over the past five years. We invited 100% community support and we're ready to provide our nation's best young athletes with an "Experience of a lifetime" and to show our warm western hospitality with all Canadians. We thank each, President of the 1979 Canada Games Society trip.

#### MORE THAN JUST SPORTS

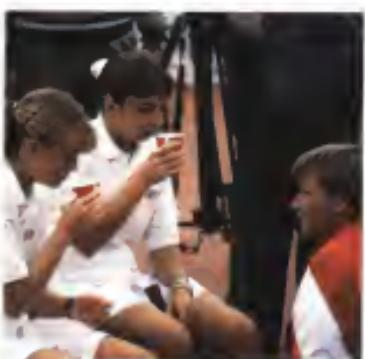
Preparations are also under way for the largest participation of native peoples in any Canada Games. In support of the Games, the Kamloops Pow-Wow, a native cultural festival, a major rodeo, and an amateur Traditional Games provincial championship are being planned by the native communities.

To help accommodate the summer visitors, 1,600 RV and tenting sites will be created in 10 parks and school yards around the city as a supplement to the 380 private RV sites and the 2,800 rooms at hotels and motels. For more information on Accommodations and Tickets call BCM/BCBTA, 1-800-665-3099, or (604)573-1558. ■

## 1993 CANADA SUMMER GAMES "The Sports"

- Archery
- Badminton
- Basketball
- Baseball
- Bicycling
- Boxing
- Canoeing
- Cycling
- Diving
- Football
- Field Hockey
- Gymnastics
- Handball
- Rugby
- Sailing
- Soccer
- Softball
- Swimming
- Tennis
- Track & Field
- Volleyball
- Waterpolo
- Wrestling

## COACHES ARE TRAINED, TOO



The most influential person in the life of a developing athlete is often his or her coach.

Parents, in the rare, are a youngster's first model, but when it comes to ambitions and the building of dreams, a coach is an inordinately powerful figure. Kids never run and loop, working on claw and dividend in performance. Coaches help shape kids' values and beliefs, such as the belief in fair play, integrity and respect for opponents and officials.

Coaches have always held the kind of power and yet until recent times, there was much done to transmogrify the job to health guidelines of professionalism or rules of conduct.

Enter the Coaching Association of Canada and the National Coaching Certification Program.

"The coaching association began in 1971 and grew out of a recommendation in a 1969 federal task force on sport," says John Ballo, vice-president of the CA.

"Our mandate is twofold: to promote the National Coaching Certification Program (NCCP) and to move toward professionalization in coaching."

Most of Canada's coaches are volunteers, a vital but fragile network of enthusiasts, parents and ex-athletes. They need training just as much as

the young people who are learning physical skills and game strategies from them. The Canada Games was a case in point. Until the mid-1980s, all emphasis has been on preparation of athletes. The Games' success showed it needed to teach coaches on a plane with the athletes.

The 1989 Games in Saskatoon were the first to require coaches to have a minimum level of certification under the NCCP Level Two of the five-level program. Again for 1991, the coaching requirement was set for Level Two and a ban was to Level Three for 1993, a significant increase in the expertise and commitment of coaches.

The 1993 sub-segment Games will also require that specific coaching positions be occupied by women. One of the coaches, for instance, for women's lacrosse teams must be female.

"With the culture of athletes improving, it's crucial that coaches come up to standard," Ballo said.

The respective provinces have reacted differently.

"As a result of required certification, there have been a lot more opportunities for courses and sharing of information."

The Level Three certification is required of Canada Games coaches as a three-part curriculum, theory in which leadership and ethics are stressed, techniques which involves sport-specific skills and strategies, and personal assessment, which is an evaluation of whether the coach can effectively use and communicate the knowledge and skills he or she has acquired.

Not one of the biggest athlete-education programs in the country. There are 76,000 people who take NCCP programs each year and more than 2,000 Canadians are at Level Two or higher," Ballo said. "Most of the coaches at the first three levels are still volunteers. Levels four and five need to be full-time, paid coaches."

"What we've seen is significant improvement of athlete performance in the Games, not just at the top end, but the development of specific events in some provinces. The coaching must have made some of this impact."

The Canada Games Council believes the Games athletes deserve the best possible coaching and presented the Level Three requirement, says President and CEO Lise MacLachlan. "Quality coaching goes hand in hand with quality performance."



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## CBC REMAINS A FAITHFUL MESSENGER

When the Canada Games flame is lit, it will again in Kelowna, B.C., the expense will be shared in living room cost or come via the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The CBC is a fixture at the Games. As part of its national mandate, the CBC has been the messenger who has brought the stories of the Canada Games home to the friends and families of the 30,000 participants since 1967. Its coverage has been crucial in delivering the message of Unity through Sport



Brian Bozzo  
Canada Games and Olympic medallist

beyond the host communities.

"The Canada Games is a showcase for the talent of young athletes across the country," says Alan Clark, Head of TV Sports for the CBC. "For some, their greatest accomplishment will be reading Kelowna. For others, the Canada Games opens the door to international competition and inclusion. It is the CBC's pledge to bring these stories to Canadians."

A banal documentary, rich on both facts and sentiment, was put together by CBC producer David Naylor last year to help the Canada Games Council mark the 25th anniversary of the inaugural Games in Quebec City in 1971. It has caught the spirit, the highlights and the stories of some of Canada's more famous athletes who came through the Games experience.

In 1971, when the Canada Games were in Saskatoon, a proud Diane Jones (later Kosibowski) carried the Games torch up the man-made mountain in her home town. She had been a participant in the



## LONGINES

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Any game adviser who covers the field does, (100) 100% more than brings home a trophy, there's not much someone who shares in the victory has without the spotlight. Men and women who have invested their time and talents so that others may reach their goals.

You'll find coaches out on winter mornings to maintain ice rinks, working with figure skaters, or at practices, among swimmers or on the road, driving kids to "away" games.

A coach can be the most influential person in the life of a developing athlete. When it comes to the building of dreams, it's often the most influential, powerful people.

Canada has produced some wonderful coaches — the names of Dave King, coach of our 1992 Olympic hockey team, Bernd Brinkley, coach of Olympic gold medal swimmer Mark Tewksbury, and Julie Smart, coach of two bronze-medalists and Olympic silver medalist Sylvie Fréchette, come to mind.

It is with the purpose of producing more world-class coaches that the Coaching Association of Canada has established the Canada Coaching Endowment Fund. Our objective is to raise \$1 million by 1996. All donations to the fund will be held in perpetuity with the interest being used to provide scholarships to individuals who want to pursue a coaching career through study at a National Coaching Institute.

With the help of our corporate partners, we have commissioned Canadian artist Ken Danby to produce a limited edition watercolor titled "Coaches Make a Difference." These individuals and corporations making a substantial donation to the Endowment Fund will receive a Prestige Edition print. To find out how you can support coach education, write the Coaching Association of Canada at 1600 James Naismith Drive, Gloucester, Ontario K1B 5N4.

The Coaching Association of Canada would like to thank the corporate partners listed here who have financed the production of the *Unity* Prestige Edition print.

Coaching Association  
of Canada

**FAIR PLAY  
ESPRIT SPORTIF**



1989 Games.

Looking on in the cut with the fans, from the rocks of the Quebec 1989, was a 12 year old speed skater named Gailor Beaudet.

"It was the first time I was to participate in the speed skating, the first time I went up against skaters from ages 14 to 18," Beaudet recalled in the CBC documentary.

"Seeing the skaters from the other provinces and from so many different sports was a treat of the Olympics. That is what makes the games."

For Beaudet, the 12-year-old's dreams blossomed into glorious reality. From the launch pad of the Canada Games, he went on to grab a silver medal at the 1990 Lake Placid Olympics and a stunning haul of two golds and a bronze at 1991's Sarajevo.

Another of the athletes looking on from the Ontario delegation was a hockey player named Bob Goss. He said his personal achievement was gold in Sarajevo, and two years later he was the first-round draft pick of the Montreal Canadiens. Goss, who played as left Stanley Cup winning team, was captain of the Blue in eight seasons.

Greg Joy, the Olympic silver medal high jumper (1976), said that his Canada Games participation in New Westminster-Barry was an eye opener. It was his first big adult sports competition, and the experience was electrifying. "It brings you up to a certain level that competing

in your own sport just doesn't give."

Moving performance up to a new level was something also experienced by decathlete Dave Scott, who won Canada's first Olympic bronze in the event at Seoul. That was 11 eventful years after he was the decathlete in the 1977 Canada Games in St. John's, Nfld. In view his performance there, that was Scott's a scholarship to the University of California at Berkeley.

"And that's when I became a full time athlete, so the Canada Games was definitely one of the highlights of my career and a big stepping stone. The Canada Games is important for athletes in our country. Sometimes, I think it's more important than the international competition. In the face of Canadian strong stand on doping and drug testing, it's important to put more emphasis on domestic competition."

The Canada Games are an athletic growth experience, says seven-time Olympian, who competed in St. John's, N.B., in 1983 and ended with two gold-medal wins last summer in Barcelona. She is currently employed by the Kamloops Host Society for the Games and is also promoting the Federal government's Stay in School program.

"The Canada Games are about learning to cope and to adapt to challenges," Barnes said. "You learn the ability to work well with other people and to cope with the unexpected and stay positive and still do your best." ■

## The Games

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Kamloops 1993

Canada Summer Games

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Bose Ltd

Kamloops, B.C.  
August 8-21



## CBC 1993 CANADA GAMES TELECAST SCHEDULE

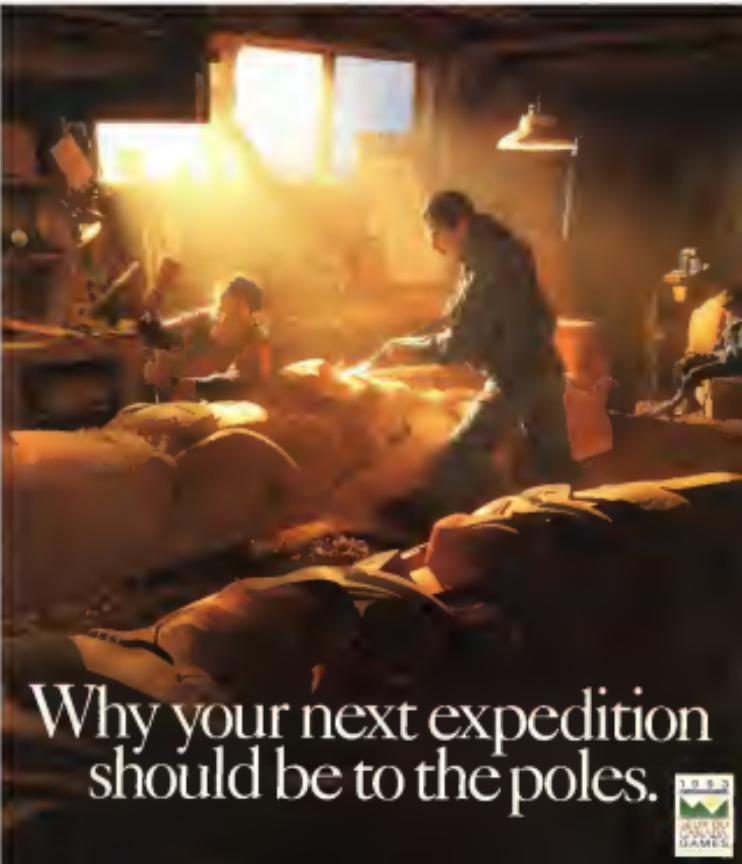
### DATE

### (Eastern)

Sunday, Aug. 8	1930-1930 Opening Ceremonies
Monday, Aug. 9	2200-2300 Games Day Coverage
Tuesday, Aug. 10	2200-2300
Wednesday, Aug. 11	2200-2300
Thursday, Aug. 12	2200-2300
Friday, Aug. 13	2330-0030
Saturday, Aug. 14	1800-1900
Monday, Aug. 16	1200-1230 Games Day Coverage
Tuesday, Aug. 17	2200-2301
Wednesday, Aug. 18	2200-2301
Thursday, Aug. 19	2200-2300
Friday, Aug. 20	2200-2300
Saturday, Aug. 21	1200-1300
	1900-1900 Closing Ceremonies

Totem poles, of course. Tall cedars gently transformed into quiet sentinels that speak volumes about man's history in this mystical place. They're graceful shapes that follow the grain, like our miles-high mountains that slide into deep green valleys. Or the city skylines that embrace Pacific shorelines. For an inviting look into this rare balance, call 1-800-663-6000 for our new Travel Guide. You'll find enough new material to carve almost any vacation experience.

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## JEUX du Canada Games

1967  
1992

### THE CANADA GAMES 1967-92

The following is an excerpt from the 25th Anniversary commemorative book for the Canada Games, written by veteran Ottawa sports journalist Eddie MacCabe.

About 50 years ago it was little more than a foliosh dream, a half-baked notion, an idealistic vision.

Just 25 years ago it was a beginning. But still not much more than a good idea supported more by hope and enthusiasm than by substance.

Now it is a glorious Canadian tradition, well structured and appropriately financed, unquestionably a linchpin of Canada's ambitious sports plan and programs well established, well presented and growing in stature and with each annual entrepreneur.

We're talking about the Canada Games, an entrepreneurial and recreational sports festival staged every two years, winter and summer games in one. The past 25 years since those bold and adventurous first steps were taken in the Winter Games in Quebec City in 1967.

Since that time, more than 75,000 Canadians have been directly

involved as volunteers in staging the Games and about 30,000 athletes and coaches have participated with hundreds of thousands of athletes involved in the selection process leading to the Games. Without these volunteers marshalling time and untold hours of effort and so tiny the chance of such mistakes at the Games, the whole grand plan would have long since collapsed.

Among those volunteers was the leader at each of the 13 host sites. They had to make major arrangements, raising over \$100 million of their own in Canada, in doing it with creativity, ingenuity and ingenuity. They also needed expertise in administration and planning, accounting, communications and all the other qualities required for these enormous undertakings.

### IN THE BEGINNING/

BY THE TIME YOU READ THIS

The thought occurs that a number of persons must have entertained the notion over the years, but passed it by as an impossible dream. The first hard evidence of the idea came in 1954 at the old Fort Garry Hotel in Winnipeg at the annual meeting of the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada.

Norman Gauvin was the honorary secretary of the AAU and he was retiring from the post after 15 years of service. That was an Olympic year, so it turned out, he noted that for the first time since 1936, Canada had not won an Olympic medal in track and field.

For an amateur athlete in his youth in Tatamagouche, Gauvin had been

for many years a national and international encyclopaedia of such knowledge and acumen, that a trophy had been put up in his name to be awarded annually to Canadian track and field athletes. He also was involved in the early days of the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada.

So when Norman Gauvin got his first official address, his listeners expected some expression of significant thoughts, and they were not surprised when he lamented Canada's performance at the 1932 Olympics. He suggested all-Blacks Empire Games be an up-and-coming idea.

"Another year I would like to see in the future would be what might be styled Canadian Olympic Games in some central place when all available sports could be conducted in the same week. The issuance of federal funds would make this possible."

Both of these thoughts were put into molasses and passed and the British Empire Games made their debut in 1930 in Vancouver, Ontario, just months after the death of Mr. Gauvin. However, the idea of an all-Canadian competition seemed to suffer total abandonment for the longer time, and was forgotten for decades.

Copies of the *Jeux du Canada Games 1967-1992* can be obtained from the Canada Games Council by calling 1-800-748-1799 or fax 1-800-748-5799 for \$29.95/CD.



### THE CANADA WINTER GAMES

FEBRUARY 10 - MARCH 4, 1995

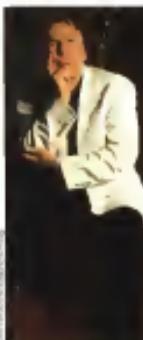
\* 3,000 - 4,000 Athletes

\* 21 sports including wheelchair basketball, freestyle skiing and alpine skiing in Jasper Park \* 6,000 volunteers

## PEOPLE

### BUT SERIOUSLY...

Mal Brooks is a multi-talented individual, with an appreciation for the finer things in life. Besides creating such classic comedy masterpieces as *Blazing Saddles* and *Young Frankenstein* (1974), he does a fair impersonation of Milt Tormé's singing, as he demonstrated while talking to *Maclean's* in advance of last week's release of his new film *Robin Hood: Men in Tights*. As for the finer things, Brooks is a connoisseur of Canadian maple syrup and of Montreal smoked meat (during the filming of *Robin Hood* in Los Angeles, *Maclean's* reporter Hervé Hervieux, Momo's mother, brought some to the set from Momo's native Montreal). Despite his good taste, film critics have often insulted his movies as vulgar, crassly, replete with sexist one-liners and flatulence gags. "I am like Momo from *Aladdin*," he said. "I want on the critics can give me of that's virtual." But seriously, Brooks sees comedy as, well, serious. "Comedy writers are the jokers of society," he added. "We've got to point out what's� badminton is a vicious, ferocious way, of course." And as a producer, he has an other achievement which he covets: *Mac's Breakfast* has among its credits such respected movies as *The Elephant Man* (1980) and *The Chariots of Fire* (1981), and he recently bought the film rights to *My Fair Lady*, author Alan Jay Lerner's portrayal of racial and tribal tensions in South Africa. But, interesting in the 67-year-old's case, it's not to cheap gags in *Men in Tights*, while pre-filming *Robin Hood*, he sat in the audience and counted seven "greeners." He edited them all out—except, "I left one in," said Brooks. "You'll know it when you see it."



Brooks: "We've got to point out what's badminton is a vicious, ferocious way, of course."

"There is a time when people would say there is food and they had all go off to a movie," he said. "Now, I see children in the audience. That is a wonderful thing—it makes us feel the future."

### Alive and well, back in Canada

After a difficult year, Arthur Kest will return to his native Canada in September as host of the long-running *TV series Mac's Alive*. Kest was fired from the U.S. TV magazine show *Deadline* last August after he refused to take an assign-

ment in western former Yugoslavia. The 36-year-old screenwriter, who went as far as to release his own film documentary on Bosnia in April, is asking for \$25 million for wrongful dismissal, defamation and fraud. As for Mac's Alive, the new host welcomes the chance to work on a program that both has a reputation for integrity

Kest: "The value of facts"



Alanis: "I don't want to  
be stuck myself"

### Teenage veteran

She graduated from high school just one year ago, but pop singer Alanis has already won her second first album, earned a Juno for most promising female vocalist, headlined her own tour this year and appeared in a Hollywood movie. Now, in *Angels in America*, a stage show from her new *New* in the *Post* album, she's hitting the top of the charts. A bullet, *Angels* is a departure from the 19-year-old's trademark funky dance style. "It's cool that I can cross over from dance songs to a ballad and have people listen," Alanis said. "I don't want to limit myself, to box myself into a corner." The singer, who grew up in Ottawa and began writing songs at age 9, says her youth is nothing more than a chapter. "After all," she explained, "if you take all the years I have been in this business, I'm almost an old-timer."

### MAN OF THEATRE

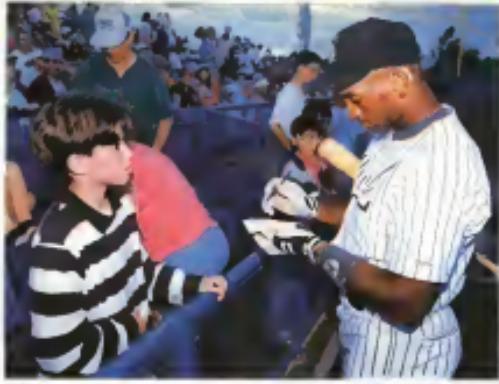
Success in Canadian theatre may never seem an impossible dream. But, as one sage Michael Bubbers says, "Things do change." Indeed they do. After years of struggle, during which he took in acting in industrial training flats between intermission stage jobs, Bubbers now is arguably the most popular stage actor in Canada. Propelled to stardom as *Twelfth Night* in the 20-year run of *Les Miserables*, he set a world record by appearing in more than 1,000 performances in the south coast town. Now, he is starring in *Don Quixote* in Victoria, B.C., and *Mac's Breakfast* in Toronto. Bubbers' next big role, *Angela's Ashes*, opens in May. His producer is Michael J. Bubbers. Bubbers says that he is riding a crest of renewed interest in the stage. "There is a time when people would say there is food and they had all go off to a movie," he said. "Now, I see children in the audience. That is a wonderful thing—it makes us feel the future."



Bubbers: "A wonderful thing"



and deals with fundamental human concerns. Seif Krest: "You can't go through Afghanistan watching *Deadline* from the Soviet Age protecting themselves from Soviet snipers, or live through *Titanic* in Space, without being impressed with the value of facts." And has own facts? "It's a private thing," he replied, "but it's from the source of great strength over the past year."



Pride of the Lynx trying to make the transition from Triple A to 'The Show'

## SPORTS

# The capital gang

Ottawa fans embrace minor-league baseball

**F**our decades ago, the national capital was, if only briefly, a regular stop on the minor-league baseball circuit. The Ottawa Athletics, the farm team of the Philadelphia Athletics, played in an ugly Lansdowne Park between 1962 and 1964 and were remarkably popular, too, with top-tier Ottawa a spectacular banner set by chilly relief pitchers of the visiting Huron Sugar Kings in the ball pen one spring night in 1954, failed to generate an instant. After finishing last in the league, the team departed Ottawa for Columbus, Ohio, the following year.

Times have changed. One night last week, halfway through a long July home stand, all 10,032 seats at sparkling new Ottawa Stadium were sold out for the 12th game in a row. The attraction was the Ottawa Lynx baseball club—the Montreal Expos' Triple A affiliate. Facing the visiting Columbus Clippers, they exploded for 13 runs in a winning effort and drew raves from the crowd. While the Lynx have had more games than they have won this year, they still ranked second in their fifteen-game home stand. And fans have come to pay baseball with a passion unmatched in

a city often heralded as a cold-blooded haven of bureaucrats. "This has been an incredible experience," says Howard Blum, 33, a marketing consultant who has raised only one home run this year. While there's been a bit of "insecurities" with Ottawa's other ten players in trying to adjust to the Lynx, "people here spend so much time in their houses with the ball to the spring, they can't wait to get out. And this is the place they'll come."

The owners of the new Triple A franchise—awarded over a dozen other franchises in September, 1984, and bought at a cost of \$64 million—deserve a lot of credit to be the case. Even the team's name is curiously calculated. Out of the 20,000 submissions by the public, "Lynx" was chosen because it has the same spelling as both English and French, and, says owner Howard Devos, "because I didn't want a really foreign sound—I wanted the fact that the other ten teams in the Expos' farm system are not in tact." This was going to be a very good club and year," says local baseball writer Ken Warren. Clearly, a growing number of Ottawa fans had but a hard way

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The question facing the Lynx now is how to carry this success into the future. New minor-league teams often enjoy a two- or three-year honeymoon with their fans. In the Ottawa entry's favor is the growing Canadian support for baseball in general—led by the Blue Jays' World Series victory last year—and the fact that the other ten teams in the Expos' farm system are not in tact. "This was going to be a very good club and year," says local baseball writer Ken Warren. Clearly, a growing number of Ottawa fans had but a hard way

GLEN ALLEN © Ottawa

in the whole stadium," says Judy Charbonneau, an Ottawa mother of two who, with husband Andre and eight neighbors bought advancing season tickets this year. And the ticket prices range from just \$4.25 to \$8.40—the cheap seats cost less than one-fifth of their equivalent for Senators hockey games. "This is a fundable family entertainment," says Devos. "You can't make the excuse you can't afford to come and bring the kids too."

Lynx management also cashed in on a strong Montreal-Ottawa connection. When Devos began seeking a Triple A franchise in 1983, then-Expos owner Charles Bronfman and owner (then) in moving the club's Triple A affiliate from Ottawa, Sean Devine. "It was good business for him to be 100 miles away rather than 1,000," Devine says. His tightened the bond between the Expos and the Lynx. In fact, a horde of French-speaking (mostly) sports reporters descended on Ottawa earlier this month when Montreal pitcher Devine, then with the Lynx, Toronto Blue Jays, accepted from a single African in Las Vegas his first start in the major leagues. The 25-year-old hurler has yet to win a regular game in the Lynx starting rotation. "But," he says, "we have a good team. I'm close to home and it would be great to get to the Expos from here."

As always in baseball—and especially in the minors—players come and go. "But they've all been cheering and working and giving their best—and we're trying to bring them all here," says manager Mike Quade, standing on tapis and beer in his species of office—a glass last week. Several Lynx players have already made the transition from Triple A to "The Show"—the major leagues—包括 catcher Joe Schild, a native of Windsor, Ontario. Another likely to make a strong bid for a spot with the Expos is Curtis Price, a hard-hitting outfielder born with a 40-per-cent hearing disability. The 26-year-old Price communicates with coaches and transmission largely through lip-reading and signs, his hearing impairment is of minimal importance on the field, say Lynx officials. "But," said one season-long observer, "if a tall's coming to him and he can't see it, there's no argument—it'd definitely help."

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## SPORTS WATCH



# The ageless lore of the long ball

BY TRENT FRAYNE

**A** part from the distractingly boozey at the Toronto Blue Jays by unsouth Baltimore has been (the arrival) the most memorable aspect of this summer's All-Star action was provided by a couple of down-and-outers of 25, Jim Gossage of the Texas Rangers and Bert Griffe Jr. of the Seattle Mariners, each of whom delivered tape-measure jobs in other major league parks. "Using the charts we estimate how far the ball would have gone if it hadn't hit the wall," says Gossage.

Apparently nobody has hit a ball 300 feet at the Toronto park, as Griffey and Gossage did in Baltimore. It must be remembered that the two shaggers did their damage against a left-handed pitcher, adding inches down the middle. In league competition or playoffs, the Connie Mack is rarely the longest in Steppe since its opening last year on June 1, 1980. However, one ball crafted by Curt Schilling the home-run contest area in Toronto's All Star game in 1981, which had a distance of the Connie wall, both of Field's, measured at a record 300 feet above the latter's strengthener, and the distance between the 400 and 405 feet, which, once a Blue Jay recorded, was the first to fall at the foot of Tiger Stadium, both in competition, was at 404 feet.

"But the one I really remember," says Dan Brotton, the publicist boss, "was hit by Roger Johnson in the 1971 All Star game of Pittsburgh's Three Bells. This one of Roger's hit the light transformer on the mid-in right center, just up."

Until Red Patterson invented the tape-measure job 40 years ago, on such contests was accorded home-run distance. The legend of Babe Ruth's putting to the centre field bleachers at Wrigley Field during the 1932 World Series and then delivering a home run there is officially replete, but the distance of this famous blow is never raised. The recorded ball at Wrigley is 400 feet from the plate, but the ball's trajectory and landing place have lost in the mists.

Of course, it was Ruth and his home-run partner Lou Gehrig who popularized distance on the grand scale, and what a pair! In 1927, for instance, the year Ruth hit 69 home runs and Gehrig 47, only one other player in the entire league reached double figures, and none of those topped 30. Chances are, lots of the balls batted by Ruth and Gehrig were tape-measure jobs, but there was no Red Patterson on hand to say so.

conceived in bushy times a tape-measure job delivered by Jose Canseco in the American League playoff game between the Oakland A's and the Blue Jays in October of 1985. It was a mammoth drive in maximum drive is permitted, provided a tape-measure job has already been registered in the same paragraph. The ball snuck along the left field foul line into the fifth deck. The young man at SkyDome who measures these things, Jay Steinhause, puts the distance at 450 feet.

"It is an ancient science," says Steinhause, displaying a chart of the the decks of SkyDome seating beyond the outfield fence. At the instant of the Blue Jays, a group of measuring students from the University of Toronto worked out distances from home plate to every seat beyond the fence, and these, together with a trajectory graph that maps a ball's flight, are Steinhause's tools. Similar charts help the calculations of monitors in other major league parks. "Using the charts we estimate how far the ball would have gone if it hadn't hit the wall," says Gossage.

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# A MODERN STORY



## Girl Guides change their program—and ask where the money goes

And the groves and groanlands of Guelph Lake Conservation Area in southwestern Ontario, come over the Girl Guides of the 1990s. Over here, a counselor holding a powder blower in front of an easel bearing a collaborative chart and talks about how to *deal* with unruly behavior. Over there, another counselor arranges students on a platform, winds a person without instruments on a cylinder, and lets them go without being caught. The motto: "Be prepared." Girls taken on a whole new meaning within the 86-year-old movement—and a grossly belayed prevention of unwanted pregnancy. The Girl Guides once content to award badges for sewing, outdoor cooking and archery, have lately been inventing a line of work for females. As last month's international camping workshops taught the 12- to 16-year-olds about employment equity, fate, risk, self-confidence, starting a business, coping with cancer, writing, and how to relieve stress through yoga. The year may close in handily not a day are recruiters looking to compete with the educational Scouts Canada for new members, but many Girl Guides across Canada also think that their local troops, called units should be getting a bigger share of the revenue from cookie sales.

Although hundreds of the girls now sell cookies and swap to raise money, cookies are what really fuel the Guide machine—

"But we don't seem to make much money."

Christie Brown, which has been supplying Canadian Girl Guides for 21 years, refused to divulge how much it makes from the sale currently above six million boxes a year. However, it says, the Guides are treated differently from the usual consumers. "We have a very special relationship with them," says Steve Pfeifer, president of the Chicago-based National Council (NC), which runs the cookie company. In addition to giving marketing advice, the company trains the Guides a leadership video and is doing public relations for a new cookie campaign this fall. "This is a huge project," says Pfeifer. Michael Taft, a former Scout and manager of the Toronto-based Constance Stone says the Guide administration spends two-thirds of the profits. "These places have become too top-heavy," says Taft. "It's supposed to be simpler for kids." The Constance Stone donates more than 5,000 gourmet cookies to charities each year. "We never take a cut," says Taft.

Guide officials insist that the organization needs the cookie money to develop and improve programs for thousands of girls. Troops keep all the money they make from local apple sales and 20 per cent of the proceeds from their annual tree-planting program, which raised more than \$3 million last spring. "It's a lot of work to sell cookies," says 15-year-old Jennifer Riggs of Toronto

troops. "We won't let in boys," says Martha Ross, chief commissioner of the Girl Guides of Canada. "Girls do better in a single sex environment."

The organization's determination to keep the Guides intact has also prompted a review of the so-called Guide Law, which defines the perfect Guide as "among other things, one who is modest, pure in thought and always ready to smile and sing." Even so,

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The organization's determination to keep the Guides intact has also prompted a review of the so-called Guide Law, which defines the perfect Guide as "among other things, one who is modest, pure in thought and always ready to smile and sing." Even so, discussing such fields as employment equity. Those who showed up at Guelph heard several career talks from women in nontraditional jobs. Even training, one of the few female-dominated occupations mentioned during the event, was presented under the title "Top-Bye Bertha Beepin." There were more inspiring topics in one circle, Guides played something called "Successful Journey," which required them to yell out or raise 90



Discussing women's issues, a Canadian quilter (right), and the 95th annual meeting of Guelph (opposite).



statements like "back of center is a sign of success." The two presenters looked annoyed when Elizabeth Carey of Hartland, N.B., piped up that her brother had shot himself the previous fall. "That's not cool," said the guitar-lugging leader, passing out candy before singing a catchy tune called "Tell Me Why You Went to See The Blues." Carey, their reaction was confusing. Said Carey: "I don't think you can have fun with suicide." Erin Esary of Mississauga agreed. "The tapes are kind of heavy," admitted Esary. "But I wanted to try something new." For an organization struggling to emerge from donations by males and traditionalists, that might be a suitable motto for the decades of change ahead.

DEANNA FRADY in Guelph

# License to thrill

Connery and Ford get their second wind

**O**lder men are getting off the action. With Arnold Schwarzenegger's *Terminator 2* and *Terminator 3* behind him, and *Die Hard With a Vengeance* (1995) and *Armageddon* (1998) under his belt, Sean Connery, 76, looks and feels like a man on the move again. In *The Hunt for Red October* (1990), he was the captain of a Russian submarine that had to be stopped before it could reach America. In *Die Hard With a Vengeance*, he was the captain of a cargo plane that had to be stopped before it could reach America. In *Armageddon*, he was the captain of a nuclear missile that had to be stopped before it could reach America. Now, in *The Hunt for Red October*, he's the captain of a nuclear submarine that has to be stopped before it can reach America. And he's doing it with a smile on his face.

*Rising Sun* adapted from the Michael Crichton best-seller, is a rather languidized murder mystery with a bunch of formulas elements: come-better-than-a-white-cop and a black subchief, a terrorist conspiracy, a splash of *Basic Instinct* come-on-leader and a dash of *Long Go*. The plotless plot, based on Crichton's cautionary tale about Japan taking over America's economy, seriously lessens the *Fugitive* in its close examination no less hazardous than you hardly notice, because the movie is much less plot-driven.

The *Fugitive* is a simple but riveting exercise in suspense, kept hot by superb performances from Ford and Tommy Lee Jones. Acting with an intensity that squares between fear and rage, Ford seems ideally cast as Dr. Richard Kimble, a Chicago surgeon unswervingly committed to avenging his wife. His eyes have that hunted/haunted look, and it seems fitting that a star with a professed aversion to celebrity exposure is playing someone who lives in mortal fear of being recognized. Jones, meanwhile, brings an acerbic wit to the role of Sam Givard, the U.S. marshal who is hot on Kimble's tail, along with a nutty partner (John Goodman) and a crew of obnoxious cops.

Meeting glances of the wittier kick after the plot *Snobie* comes home to find his wife (Sofia Vergara) dead, an unarmed man (Andrew Kavadas), gets a wry *Alien*-like moment of the crime. Kimble escapes from custody as a suspect that is, well, a spectacular collision between a bright train and a prison bus. (Defining

death and lame, Kimble also survives a dive from an exercises class. But then the action settles down to a more predictable kind of laid-backness. As he when Kimble is not acting like a hunting hawk. This kind of the unconvincing man becomes a kind of monster, with a range of plot of others that lead to the *Snobie* conclusion. In the end, we see his questions remain unanswered, including the native belief of the who-consider



Ford on the trail of the site-armed man in a marathonic game of hide-and-seek

else. He has changed the identity, and rather of the killer. And, throwing a curve into the mind police, he has cast a black actor, Wesley Snipes, as one of the two leads.

Snipes plays Web Smith, a police officer investigating the murder of a young woman in the hometown of a Japanese corporation in downtown Los Angeles. She was found "lying flat on her back like a piece of sushi," in the words of a cop. To a wonderfully caustic Harvey Korman, who appears to have been wrangled while engaged in India (a scene recorded on later disc and replayed throughout the movie). Smith is teamed up with John C. McGinley, the determined to familiar with the Japanese that he would be working for them. The story unfolds a quest, with Connery serving as the guide (and part) who leads the appreciation (about) through a maze of cultural codes and technological language.

In a role that Crichton created for him, Connery performs a feature-length homage

to *The Hunt for Red October*. As the plotless plot, based on Crichton's cautionary tale about Japan taking over America's economy, seriously lessens the *Fugitive* in its close examination no less hazardous than you hardly notice, because the movie is much less plot-driven.

But the master is just a pretense for a facelift, which has an irresistible momentum all as can. As droning plausibility, Ford and Jones add a psychological dimension to the hard boil of drama. And then makes Andrew Davis (Under Siege) directs *The Fugitive* with such gritty documentary realism that the few points of the plot seem beside the point.

*Rising Sun*, however, is a whodunit. And the mechanics of who's done what and why are important. Like *The Hunt*, the summer's other thriller, based on a real-life actual case, *Rising Sun* takes substantial liberties with the author's original story. Crichton, who labored on the screenplay to the very last, developed after disagreements with director and co-writer Philip Kaufman. Kaufman has salvaged the novel's paranoia about the Japan



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